PARIS, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1992

A Must for Republicans: Agenda for the Voters and A Vow to Follow Through

By E. J. Dionne Jr.

Washington Past Service
HOUSTON — With a barrage of oratory, Republicans are embarking on what many of their strategists regard as the most important mission of their convention: convincing a doubtful nation that President George Bush

NEWS ANALYSIS

has coherent solutions to the country's domestic problems, and that he will fight hard for them if he wins a second term.

Few here pretend that this will be an easy sell - and many Republicans say it is awfully late to be trying. Bush loyalists acknowledge that the president has seemed reinctant to battle hard even for the programs he has proposed himself. And they say he is still suffering from the fact that he was elected in 1988 more as an opponent of Democratic domestic initiatives notably taxes - than as a proponent of any

domestic plans of his own. "The source of some of our problems," said William Kristol, chief of staff for Vice President Dan Quayle, "was defining an agenda that was negative. We have paid a price."

But Mr. Kristol and other conservatives see this convention not only as a chance to reverse Mr. Bush's image of domestic indifference, but also as an opportunity to showcase what they believe are genuine conservative alternatives to Democratic policy initiatives.

The opening lineup of speakers is heavily tilted toward advocates of what Mr. Kristol and his allies call "the conservative reform agenda." Speaker after speaker touts such programs as

vonchers to allow poor children to attend private schools, tenant ownership or management of public housing and health care reforms The same of

based on incentives to allow individuals and businesses to buy private insurance.

The idea that unites these proposals is that government is better off "empowering individ-nals," as the popular conservative slogan goes, than in creating new bureaucracies. As the preamble to the platform put it: "We see with new clarity that contralized government bu-reaucracies created in this century are not the wave of the future. Never again will people trust planners and paper shufflers more than they trust themselves."

This might be read simply as an updated, post-Cold War version of old-style conservative rhetoric. But by giving lead roles in the session on domestic issues to such top administration figures as Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack F. Kemp, Education Secretary Lamar Alexander and Health and Human Ser-vices Secretary Louis W. Sullivan, the Bush camp hopes to convince voters that it has put

substance behind the exhortations.

All three, and particularly Mr. Kemp, have been spinning off policies sufficiently attractive that the Democratic nominee, Bill Clinton, has picked up on some of them.

Mr. Kristol says it is an "irony" that conservatives are perceived as running out of ideas at a time when their policy thinking on problems like education and health care is "much further

along than in the Reagan era."

The platform resonates with this agenda, too.

Although most of the controversy over the document focuses on its strong anti-abortion plank and its conservative stands on such social issues as pornography, homosexuality and the family, much of it is dedicated to more traditional areas of public policy.
It calls for "a revolution in housing by con-

See PARTY, Page 6

President and Convention Get Off to a Feisty Start

HOUSTON - Republicins coordinated a convention attack Tuesday on Bill Clinton's remedies for the economy and what they called the "block everything". Democratic Congress.

Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, the keynote speaker, said a "cavalry charge" was needed to re-elect the Republican ticket and predicted

that one was just over the horizon.

President George Bush, who is behind in the polls, said the convention was "off to a pictry sood start." But there were fresh simis of decay in the economy, his beginst political trouble spot. Housing starts fell 2.8 percent in July despite the lowest mortgage rates in nearly two decades. Construction was off in every region but the South.

The second evening session of the convention

OFF THE COURT -- Larry Bird, the

basketball star, announcing his retirement in Boston on Tuesday. Page 14.

A Shift in U.K. Policy

On Troops for Bosnia

In a major change in policy, Britain told the United Nations on Tuesday that it was willing to send up to 1,800 ground troops

to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina to escort convoys delivering humaniarian aid, Britain had said it was opposed to the

use of force to end the fighting in Bosnia, and had been reluctant to commit troops

for fear they would become embroiled in

A 145,000-ton U.S. food sirlift to Somalia

is scheduled to begin Thursday. Page 6.
Taiwan is making quiet but significant dip-lomatic gains in Europe and Asia. Page 5.

Germany gave a rosy economic forecast

128,17

frib Index

Down

90.62

125,80

4,9625

0.76%

the conflict. (Page 2.)

for the coming four years.

"Up" 4.59

3,329.48

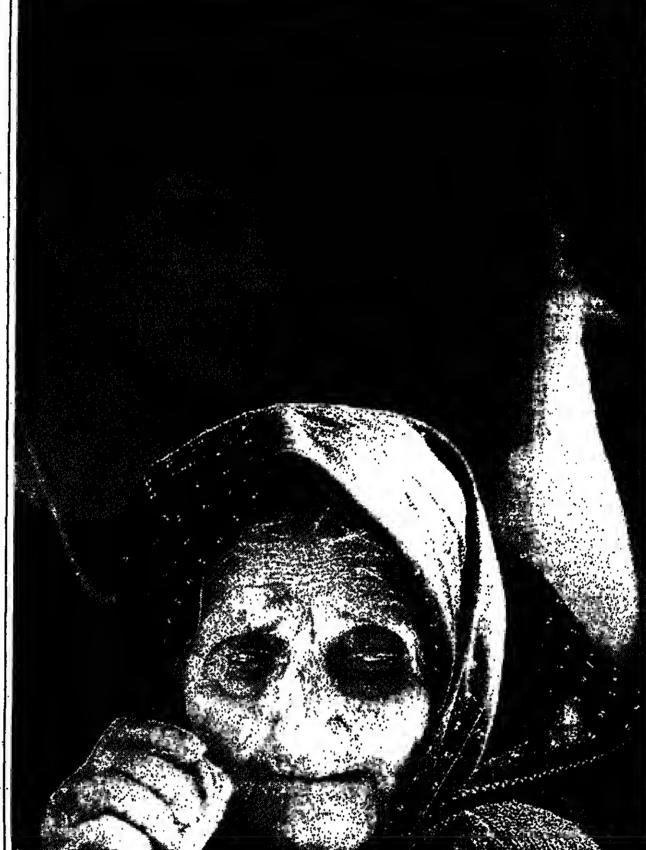
The Dollar

featured Mr. Gramm's address and speeches by Housing Secretary Jack F. Kemp and other members of the cabinet. The speeches stressed Mr. Bush's first-term accomplishments and contrasted them to proposals by Governor Clinton, the Democratic nomi

Mr. Gramm, a likely 1996 presidential contender, said the Clinton economic program was worse than sleaze" and would raise taxes, cut employment and "decimate our sconomy."

The Democrats fought back with two new television commercials "kired during the convention, and only in Houston and Washington - designed to blunt the Republican attacks on

their candidate. "And now a short break for the facts," the announcer said in one of them. "On Nov. 5, See BUSH, Page 3



FAREWELL TO SARAJEVO - Casting a wistful last look, an elderly Serb waited for a bus to Belgrade. Almost 1,000 were to go.

Allies to Ban Iraqi Flights To Protect Shiite Zone

British Official Says Shield Will Be Set Up 'In the Next Few Days'

Compiled by Our Staff From Depatcher
LONDON — The Gulf War allies plan to impose an air exclusion zone over southern Iraq in the next few days and attack any Iraqi place entering the area, according to British and

Senior British government officials said the decision to set up the zone was made after a cabinet meeting led by Prime Minister John

'It is something we propose to do in the next few days," a senior government official said. In Washington, the Defense Department spokesman, Pete Williams, accused Iraq of

Diplomats say the U.S. could take action against Iraq without UN authorization. Page 2.

"heightened disregard" for United Nations Security Council resolutions. He described "intrusive" moves by Iraqi ground and air troops

in southern Iraq.

Mr. Major, who interrupted his vacation in Spain 10 head the cabinet meeting, accused President Saddam Hussein of waging "systematic murder, genocide, of the Shittes," who have rebelled against his rule. "We propose to monitor the whole area from

the air," he said in a broadcast interview, "We will instruct the Iraqis not to fly in that area, They will be attacked if they fly in the area that is proscribed."

If Iraqi forces try to fight back, he added, "I think we have seen in the past that they would

"We're not doing it for no good reason," he said. "It's happening because there is clear evidence now of the systematic murder, genocide, of the Shias; bombing by Saddam from the air on the Shias, reports — not yet con-firmed, but fairly good reports — of napalm being used."

Foreign Minister Roland Dumas of France confirmed that the allies would forbid Iraqi

military flights over Shiite territory.

"The Baghdad regime has not been any more tender with the Shirte population than with the Kurdish population," Mr. Dumas said in Paris.
"Thus the international community, and the allies in particular, are concerned about this

measures taken last year to protect the Kurds. Among the actions taken, "one was very effec-tive: barring overflights of the zone by Iraqi aircraft." he said. "Therefore, we are considering among the allies taking the same action in

See IRAQ, Page 6

Kiosk Record Losses **Drive Wang** Into Chapter 11

By Lawrence Malkin

NEW YORK — Wang Laboratories Inc., the company that pioneered the word processor, filed for bankruptcy protection on Tuesday in a computer industry upheaval punishing compa-nies that fail to keep pace with innovation. The onetime Massachusetts miracle compa-ny piled up \$1.5 billion in losses during the past

three years and announced that it faced a fur-ther loss of about \$1.4 billion for 1992. Wang said it had recorded a loss of \$116 million for the fourth quarter on \$473 million of revenue, despite strategic support from International Business Machines Corp. to sell Big Blue's computers in a deal that did not work out. Coincidentally, IBM announced in New York that it was entering an agreement with Sears, Roebuck & Co. to merge the two compa-nies' huge national data and voice networks in the kind of software deal that many analysts see

as the future of the computer business.

"Hardware now is just a commodity, and what is happening to Wang is happening to all hardwara manufacturers," said Susan McGarry, chief computer industry analyst at

the Yankee consulting group in Boston.

"The way ahead in the industry now is through software and services, and it will be a struggle for all computer manufacturers to keep up. The United States has been dominant in this field, but foreign companies are making inroads. No place is exempt from competition.

The company was founded by An Wang, a Harvard-educated Chinese immigrant, above a Boston hardware store in 1951. He invented the magnetic computer memory, producing a desktop calculator and then a word processor based on a central midsized computer. The Wang system became a worldwide leader but failed to hold its edge in the 1980s because it was based on technology that did not fit with industry-wide standards developed for personal comput-

III with cancer, Mr. Wang dumped his son as heir apparent and brought in Richard W. Miller from General Electric Co.'s consumer electronics division. When Mr. Miller became chairman after Mr. Wang's death in March 1990, he cut costs, halved the company's \$1 billion debt and accepted \$25 million in capital from IBM to sell its computers with a Wang label. IBM would have added a further \$75 million next year if sales justified it, but clearly they did not.

Meanwhile, Wang developed a new office software strategy. But the bankruptcy an-

nouncement acknowledged that "the company's resources and cash flow were not sufficient to complete the restructuring without resorting Mr. Miller said the bankruptcy filing in Bos-ton federal court was "a drastic step that I deeply regret." But he said it was the only way

See WANG, Page 11

Tokyo's Moves to Cure Market Don't Convince Skeptics By Steven Brull and Herald Tribune TOKYO - Alarmed by yet another steep plunge in Japanese stock prices Tuesday, the' government announced measures to support the market, but analysts said they were unlikely to have much effect.

Finance Minister Tsotumu Hata, announcing the measures, said Japanese financial institutions were in their worst straits since the end

of World War II. In Tuesday trading, the Tokyo stock mar-

ket's key Nikkei index plunged 620.14 points, or 4.15 percent, to 14,309.41, its lowest level since March 12, 1986. Authorities are increasingly worried that the decline in the stock market is prolonging and deepening Japan's recession. The Nikkei has fallen 38 percent this year and stands 63 percent below its all-time high set in December 1989.

Tokyo's fall on Tuesday fed declines in Europe, where the London, Paris and Frankfurt markets moved lower. The International Her-ald Tribune World Stock Index closed off 0.76

Having failed to brake the Japanese equity market's decline with classic fiscal and monetary moves, the government is resorting to what it knows best: administrative guidance and mi-

Mr. Hata said he would urge banks not to sell stocks to raise cash. Further, he plans to loosen regulations to help banks camouflage portfolio

shares more attractive to investors.

Analysts praised the government for acknowledging the problems of the financial sec-tor but said the moves smacked of sleight-ofhand. "The whole thing is an accounting massage," said Craig Chudler, strategist at UBS Phillips & Drew. "It's a game of playing for time and it's very dangerous."

Mr. Hata appeared worried that the stock market would fall sharply if Japanese financial See MARKET, Page 10

Jailed Plotters See Soviet Coup As Patriotic Act

By Michael Dobbs

Washington Past Service

MOSCOW — A year after trying to seize power in a coup, the men who wanted to restore a hard-line Communist system in the Soviet Union are unrepentant about their actions, and they feel certain that public

opinion is turning in their direction.
"A great country was in the process of being destroyed," Gennadi L Yanayev, the former Soviet vice president, who was the nominal head of the eight-man coup group, said in a television interview from his prison cell. "My colleagues and I wanted to make one last effort to try and save it. My only guilt is that I had the chance to change someth

In an open letter to the Russian president, Boris N. Yeltsin, the former KGB chief, Vladimir A. Kryuchkov, described the "August See MOSCOW, Page 5



Soldiers of the Red Banner Tank Division, which was in Moscow a year ago to back the coup, marking the anniversary in training.

Fearing Extinction, a Culture Fastens on the Kurils

By James Sterngold New York Times Service

AKAN, Japan - Masanori Toyooka, a broad-shouldered man who studies the dying language of his ancestors and plays electronic 1822 in a coffee shop in this wooded corner of Hokkaido, is searching for something rare in Japan: pride in being different.

In his case, it is pride in being a member of the Aim. Japan's indigenous people, who re-treated centuries ago to Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost island. His search has led him into the thick of one of the country's knottiest post-Cold-War problems — how to persuade Russia to return four rugged northern islands seized in the closing days of World War II.

Mr. Toyooka and a group he works with have proposed that the islands, part of the Kuril chain, not be returned to Japan, but transformed into an antonomous region for the Ainu, who people spent centuries hunting and fishing there before being forced out by both the Japanese and Russians. It is a quixotic campaign, and it has met with a stony silence from both sides.

Japan's government has invested the issue of the islands with more emotion than any other foreign policy goal. Many Japanese see it as a test of whether this nation, nearly destroyed by a war of its own making, can ever feel completely rehabilitated. For many Russians, the prob-lem also touches a raw nationalistic nerve, since even the prospect of billions of dollars in Japa-

nese aid cannot dampen their anger over the

The issue has become even more politically charged recently, with President Boris N. Yelt-sin of Russia scheduled to visit Tokyo in mid-September. The two sides have been locked in negotiations over what they will be forced to concede to break the deadlock. But for Mr. Toyooka and some other Ainu

who support the idea of autonomy, the island issue has nothing to do with power politics. It represents a last attempt to fend off cultural

There is more than a touch of romanticism in his view that, by returning to their ancestral lands, the Aims, who have neither hunted nor fished for decades, will reconnect with an ancient culture that has been nearly forgotten because of assimilation. Yet, he insists, his proposal is based on a bluntly realistic assessment of the prospects of preserving an independent identity within a society whose creed is homogeneity.

"Most Japanese believe in this illusion that Japan is a completely homogeneous state," said Mr. Toyooka, who wears a traditional Ainu embroidered cap and coat. "We are just an obstacle for them."

The latest government survey in 1986 counted 24,381 Ainu, scattered in several pockets of Hokkaido, like this tourist stop on Lake Akan, where there are a few rows of souvenir shops See AINU, Page 6

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tion without further UN authorization. "In theory, they should go through the Security Council first," a Western diplomat said of the U.S. government, "but in practice they probably don't have to."

American officials told The New York Times over the weekend that the United States and its allies planned to use a UN inspection team to provoke a confrontation with Baghdad that could have led to U.S. military intervention and enhance President George Bush's political stature during the blican National Convention.

Mr. Bush and other officials high in the administration strongly denied the report of political influence on decision-making. UN officials in New York vehemently denied that the United States had played any role in the selection of installations that the

commission's teams would inspect or of the time when any particular inspection would

"The United States is a major supporter of the work of the special commission," a UN official said. "We've always acknowledged that. The U.S. supplies us with the most information, the most inspectors, the most equipment and the most money. But none of that affects the independence of the inspec-

A UN official said ties between the commission and the United States were so close that inspection teams returning from Iraq typically met with American officials before reporting to the Security Council. Intelligence comes from various sources,

the official said, adding, "But once we have it, we analyze it, and we decide when and

Gary Milhollin, an arms-control expert in Washington, said: "The U.S. has never been able to control the special commission. They have never been puppets." The recent reports that the United States

had virtually stage-managed a special com-

mission team severely affected the commis-Iraq has backed down. sion's credibility, another UN official said.

"We had been very successful in maintaining our credibility with both sides," he said.
"The suggestion that the U.S. tells us what to do damages our credibility with the members of the Security Council, with Iraq, with ev-

Rolf Ekens, chairman of the special commission, has threatened to resign on several occasions, a UN official said, when he felt that Security Council members were paying insufficient attention to his findings or trying to limit the commission's independence. He has insisted that the commission needs

to be fully independent, but the official said

Mr. Ekens had been particularly sensitive to the advice from American officials. The special commission to find and destroy Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons was created in April 1991 as part of the cease-fire agreement in the Guil War. Since then, its inspection teams have regular-

ly been threatened and harassed by the Iraqi After each threat, the United States has warned of possible military intervention, and

"Armed intervention is a nice legal argument," a diplomat said. "It could be argued that a breach of the cease-fire agreement, such as thwarting the work of the inspectors, antomatically reconstitutes the coalition that won the war. In which case, the U.S. could Rebellion automatically reconstitutes the coalition that probably send in its planes unilaterally."

Others disagree. Mr. Milhollin, who works

for the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Proliferation, said the United States would almost certainly have to go through the Security Council to get approval to attack Iraq.

But who is the Security Council? he

asked. Britain and France would almost certainly endorse the action immediately. Asked if U.S. bellicosity had hampered the work of the inspection teams in Iraq, a UN official said just the opposite was true.

"It has been very helpful indeed," he said. "It's comforting to the inspectors on the ground to know that we have such support. And we know that Iraq knows what the consequences will be if it continues to thwart

Georgians To Quell

MOSCOW — Georgia sent

tanks and helicopters Tuesday to disperse the parliament of the secessionist Abkhazia region and crosh resistance

Street fighting in the Abkhazian capital, Sukhumi, suggested that the Georgian leader, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, was prepared to resort to exceptionally tough measures to consolidate his control over the southern republic.

On Monday, Mr. Shevardnadze said Georgian troops had crushed the Abkhazian rebels.

The former Soviet foreign minister returned to his homeland in March after the violent overthrow of the country's first freely elected president, Zviad K. Gamsakhur-

Russian reporters in Sukhumi said that at least five people were killed when Georgian tanks and armored personnel carriers rolled into the center of town shortly be-

Abkhazian officials said Toesday that as many as 50 bodies had been taken to the morgne over the preceding 24 hours, but this could not be confirmed.

The independent Interfax news agency said that the Georgian flag had been raised over the Abkhazian parliament in place of the regional flag.

A semiautonomous region on the Black Sea coast with a population of 550,000, more than half of whom are Georgians, Abkhazia declared its independence from Georgia last month.

Georgian officials had accused the Abkhazian anthorities of pro-viding sanctuary to armed support-ers of Mr. Gamsakhurdia, who now lives in exile in the Chechen republic in southern Russia.

Abkhazian leaders rejected the charge, saying that it was a pretext

for a Georgian "invasion." Interfax reported that the chair-man of the Abkhazian parliament, Vladislav Ardzinba, had resigned after the Georgian entry into Sa-

But Abkhazian activists said that Mr. Ardzinba and other members of the Abkhazian government had fled up the coast to the town of Gudauta, which is still in Abkhazian hands.

The Georgian move into Sukhumi followed three days of fruitless negotiations. Mr. Shevardnadze sent troops to Abkhazia last week to hunt for Gamsakhurdia supporters, but then withdrew them over the weekend.

On Monday, he told Georgians to be ready to fight "the forces of evil" - his term for armed bands loyal to the former president who were concentrated in the west. The fighting in Abkhazia has the

potential of spreading to other arcas in the northern Caucasus, a groups.

The Chechen republic has prom-

ised to go to the aid of Abkhazia if Georgian troops are not with-

Russia, the traditional colonial power in the region, has preserved neutrality in the fighting. Several thousand Russian troops are de-ployed in Abkhazia but have refy any detention camps in which that "there have been abuses and fused appeals by the local authoritorture and killings taking place in ties to come to their aid.

Russian vacationers and the families of Russian military personnel were evacuated from Suklumi over the weekend

"Russia has abandoned us." said Anatoli Kapba, a member of the Abkhazian parliament, in a telephone interview from Gudanta. Mr. Kapba said Russia was preventing Chechens and other ethnic groups from going to the aid of Abkhazia by closing air corridors.

Traditionally, Russia has sup-ported the autonomy of the Abkin-zians and other small groups in the northern Caucasus as a way to put pressure on the more numerous

-MICHAEL DOBBS

embassy in Belgrade did not have Golan GIs, Israelis Say tween Serbs and Croats in the sum-

pending reaction from Damascus, had decided not to bring up the proposal during the next round of Middle East peace talks, set to re-sume in Washington on Aug. 24. Israel captured the Golan

Ben-Ari, refused to confirm or

WORLD BRIEFS

Send Tanks German Journalist Killed in Lebanon

GHADIR, Lebanon (Reuters) — A German journalist was killed Tuesday when a bomb strapped under her car exploded as she set off to buy milk for her baby daughter.

Security sources and witnesses said the journalist, Gabrille Marian Hulsen, 29, was killed when the bomb exploded seconds after she started the engine near her house in Ghadir, 15 kilometers (10 miles) northeast of the engine near her house in Ghadir, 15 kilometers (10 miles) northeast of

Miss Hulsen worked for the German magazine Spiegel and the Spiegel TV and ZDF television networks. Her husband, Ghassan Habbas, a Lebanese nightclub owner, said he did not know whether political motives had been belind the killing.

Trial of Ex-CIA Aide Goes to Jury

WASHINGTON (NYT) — The jury will begin deliberating Thursday in the case of Clair E. George, the former CIA official who is charged with him to Common and impact of the learning to Common and the learning to lying to Congress and investigators about his knowledge of the Iran-

contra affair as it unraveled in the final months of 1986.

The presentation of testimony ended suddenly Monday as the defense reversed itself, without explanation, and decided not to call Robert M. Gates, the present director of central intelligence.

During the time that Mr. George is accused of having fied to Congress, Mr. Gates was deputy director of central intelligence and Mr. George's immediate superior, Mr. George is the highest-ranking CIA official charged in the official charged in the affair.

Impeachment Of Collor Is Expected

BRASILIA (Reuters) - A congressional committee investigating corruption in the Brazilian government has found sufficient evidence to

justify a request for impeachment proceedings against President Fernando Collor de Mello, the panel's president said Tuesday.

The committee president, Benito Gama, said that a formal request to Congress to judge the president was "inevitable." The committee began its work after Mr. Collor's younger brother, Pedro, said in May that the president had benefited from a committee against the supervision assumption assumption assumption. sident had benefited from a corruption network in the government. Its nal report is due to be published on Saturday.

There is evidence, not proof, that will make an impeachment request against the president inevitable," Mr. Gama said. He cited bank statements showing transfers of money to the president's secretary.

Old Chart Blamed in QE2 Grounding BOSTON (Combined Dispatches) - The lawyer for the Cunard Line

has blamed the U.S. government for the grounding of the Queen Elizabeth 2, calling its failure to chart a 1,300-foot-long, 325-foot-wide ledge in Vineyard Sound "an aberration." The fact that there were rocks nobody knew about, that's why we are

here today," the lawyer, Harry A. Gotimer, said during a break in accident hearings that are being conducted by the National Transportation Safety Board and the Coast Guard.

The uncharted ledge, discovered by divers Saturday under 35 feet (10 meters) of water in an area where the agency's chart shows 39 feet, is believed to be site of the accident, on Aug. 7. (NYT, AP)

8 Die as Trains Collide in Bulgaria

SOFIA, Bulgaria (AP) - At least eight people died and more than 60 were injured when a train carrying tourists home from Black Sea resorts collided with a freight train ontside Sofia, state radio reported Tuesday.

Eight passenger cars were derailed in the collision late Monday at Kazichene station, about 15 kilometers (10 miles) east of the Bulgarian capital. The train was traveling from the Black Sea city of Burgas.

Japan Plutonium Cargo Ship to Sail

TOKYO (AFP) - The Akatsuki Marua, a ship specially outfitted to transport a consignment of plutonium from France, is ready to leave Japan on its mission, press reports said Tuesday. Its cargo is to fuel pan's first fast-breeder nuclear reactor at Monit

The 4,800-ton vessel will leave Yokohama this week for France and will return to Japan in late November bearing one ton of plutonium, Asahi Shimbun said. This consignment will be the first since 1984, when 190 kilos (418 pounds) of plutonium derived from Japanese nuclear waste was transported by sea from France to Japan.

TRAVEL UPDATE

City prosecutors in St. Petersburg filed a lawsoit Tuesday seeking 🏓 hinquets compensation from an disrupted air travel in Russia. sation from air-traffic controllers whose 12-hour strike last week

Jordan now accepts U.S. passports bearing Israeli entry and exit stamps, a U.S. consular official in Jersualem said Tuesday. People traveling in the Middle East from Israel routinely carry second passports

Five miles of Southern California's popular coastine from Venice to Playa del Rey remained closed to swimmers after discovery of contaminants in the ocean.

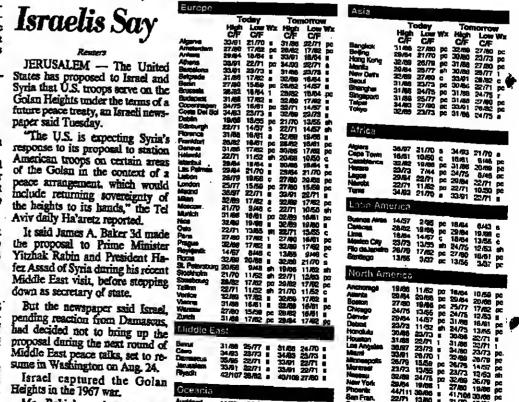
Japan Air Lines plans direct weekly flights between Tokyo and Munich starting Oct. 25, airline officials said. The plan is subject to approval by the Japanese Transport Ministry.

China General Puspose Airline, a regional carrier, has grounded its five remaining Yakovlev-42 jetliners following the crash of one of the planes last month in eastern China, the Xinhua news agency said. (UPI)

A passenger liner carrying 840 passengers and 400 crew off Rhode Island was rendered inoperable Tuesday when a sewer line burst over its main electrical panel, the Coast Guard said. The ship, the Regent Sun. was anchored off Newport.

The Weather Forecast for Thursday through Saturday North America

Pleasant, sunny weather is in store from Boston to Weshington, O.C., Thursday, Friday and perhaps even Saturday, Nice weather will also extend to Toronto and Chicago, After recent not weather, much content of weather, much content.



Heights in the 1967 war. Mr. Rabin's spokesman, Gad

U.K. Offers Troops To Back Bosnia Aid

By William E. Schmidt

New York Times Service LONDON - Britain told the United Nations on Tuesday that it was willing to send as many as 1,800 ground troops to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina if the UN needs them to help escort relief convoys delivering food and medi-

But in offering the troops to the United Nations, Prime Minister John Major insisted that British soldiers would not become involved in the fighting among the warring militias, nor would they seek to play any role in forcing open land corridors to besieged

The British government has said repeatedly that it was opposed to the use of force to end the lighting in Bosnia, and until now had been reluctant to commit British troops to the former Yugoslav republics for fear that they would become

embroiled in the conflict. In discussing the proposal to send help to Bosnia, senior British officials said it was now up to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to decide whether the British troops, roughly a battalion, were

If they are, British officials said, the troops will be under UN command and will wear the blue helmets of UN peacekeeping forces. They would not be there, as one senior British official said Tuesday, to fight their way to Armageddon

Mr. Major described their intended role as providing "light mil-itary assistance" to relief convoys delivering aid to people "who week after a UN Security Council might not live through this winter resolution allowing the use of force unless they are fed, unless they have medicine."

He said the British and their allies had rejected an alternative to force open relief corridors, a plan he said would require as m 300,000 troops and would result in a "massive amount of fighting, a massive amount of loss of life."

The decision to offer British troops came hours after a Royal Air Force cargo plane, on a relief mission to Bosnia, was threatened by gunners as it took off from the Sarajevo airport. As a result, the United Nations suspended flights into the airport for the day.

France has already contributed 2,700 troops to the peacekeeping force in the Balkans, and has said it is willing to send more to protect the aid shipments, although it has not said how many.

Last week, the French foreign minister, Roland Dumas, criticized France's partners in Europe, saying they were slow to come forward with offers of military participation in the light of a UN resolution authorizing force to protect hu-

The British decision comes a week before the scheduled convening in London of a peace conference that will bring together the Yugoslav factions as well as the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and the members of

the European Community. ■ 2d Refugee Convoy Leaves About 1,000 women and children were evacuated from Sarajevo

on Tuesday in the second convoy to leave under an agreement between the warring factions, news agencies reported.

A convoy carrying the women and children left for Belgrade, the Serbian and Yugoslav capital.

Serbian officials of Bosnia in Pale, the Serhian forces' headquarters 20 kilometers (12 miles) east of Sarajevo, said the 17-bus convoy had arrived in Pale safety. It had been guaranteed safe passage by the Serb militias and was unlikely to encounter trouble on Serb-held territory. It was scheduled to arrive

in Belgrade on Tuesday night. In the incident involving the relief plane at the Sarajevo airport, radar from unidentified forces locked onto a British Hercules C-130 aid plane as it was taking off, UN officials and the British Defense Ministry said.

Locking on with radar is a possible prelude to firing, but there was no confirmation that the plane was "The plane fired flares and chaff

to evade fire but was 'locked onto' again," a UN source said, "As it was maneuvering, the crew think they were fired upon by 20mm anti-aircraft cannon. The British plane had delivered

relief supplies to Sarajevo and was taking off for Zagreb in Croatia when it was targeted. "I think we know who did it," a UN official said. "But the incident will probably be put down to some bloody warford rather than laid at

the feet of the guilty party."

The incident occurred less than a week after a UN Security Council to get supplies to trapped civilians.
(AP, Reuters)

By Stephen Engelberg

New York Times Service

more than a month on filthy mat-tresses. Lice are rampant, they say

Bush ordered the CIA to provide a A State Department spokesman report on human rights abuses in said Aug. 3 that the administration

KARLOVAC, Croatia - The and there are no showers or bathing Croatian police have begun rounding up male Bosnian refugees --some only recently released from Serb-run detention centers - and sending them back to Bosnia-Herzegovina for military duty.

leaving behind their wives and chil-Mate Granic, vice president of Croatia, acknowledged Tuesday that the sweeps violated the international rights of those involved. But he said they were necessary to head off a social explosion in Croatia, which still has tens of thousands of young men on active duty in the army.

Mr. Granic said that 2,000 of the Serbs in Bosnia, U.S. officials say 50,000 male Bosnian refugees in Croatia had been returned so far. and he said that his government had suspended the practice "for the

aged 18 to 60, who are being taken back to Bosnia were picked up at 3:30 A.M. Monday morning at the temporary refugee center in the sports hall of this city, about 50 kilometers (30 miles) south of Za-

People have been sleeping for

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Croats Send Bosnian Men Back to Fight

Witnesses said Tuesday that the olice arrived abruptly, turned the lights on in the gymnasium and used truncheons to prod nearly every one of the men into six buses,

■ CIA Finds No 'Genocide' David Binder of The New York Times reported from Washington: Almost two weeks after President George Bush ordered the Central Intelligence Agency to deter-mine whether genocide had occurred in determion camps run by

they found no proof of the allega-Intelligence officials, noting that Mr. Bush had renewed the order to the CIA that he announced on Aug. 6. said Tuesday that they had "redoubled and tripled" their efforts to establish what had been happening in detention camps for Croats and Muslims in areas seized by

Scrbs since April. The officials said they had ched roughly the same conclusions as European observers, Unit-ed Nations representatives and journalists reporting from Bosnia: that killing and torture had occurred in some of the camps but neva on Yugoslav refugees. that there was no evidence of sys-

tration began more closely examin-ing what an official characterized fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina among Serbs, Croats and Muslims as "rumors and reports" of concen-ing what an official characterized fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina as "rumors and reports" of concen-since the spring, foreign diplomats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, President tration camps.

held in Siberian prison camps over

the years of Stalin's dictatorship

the security ministry of Russia said

Among the foreigners were 2

Britons, 501 Bulgarians, 29 Hun-

garians, 116 Germans and 155

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istant Secretary of State John government officials, including

But the diplomats were unable to there might well be camps, but no authenticate their suspicious or the rumors, a State Department offi-According to senior officials, the first independent, official report that torture and killings had occurred in specific detention centers run by Serbian forces was handed community circulated among top

MORE THAN A MATCH - Boris Yeltsin resting after termis at his Black Sea vacation villa.

former federal Yugoslavia.

republic of Bosnia were "terrible all

over." But the review did not speci-

systematic abuses might have taken

place, an intelligence official said.

In June, the State Department

Croats out of communities in

which families had lived for de-

ports of rumors and their own sup-

positions that detention camps might have been established in

which immates were tortured and

R. Bolton by a Boszian official on President Bush, had not mentioned July 29 at a UN conference in Ge-concentration camps either. At that point the Bush adminis-

2,000 Foreigners in Stalin's Camps Resters

The Soviet security police kept, year by year until Stalin's death in MOSCOW — More than 2,000 lists of foreign prisoners in their 1953.

foreigners from 31 countries were secret archives, which have been The Itar-Tass press agency said

opened now for examination. "Overail, the number of people who suffered from the purges is significantly higher than has been revealed to the media until now, the general said.

had been detained.

Many foreign communists settled in the Soviet Union in the years after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, some to escape arrest at A U.S. citizen accused of spying home and others hoping to take part in their dream of building

But they were viewed with suspicion as Moscow's leaders began to close the country off from the a "Mr. Levitus," was arrested "as world at the end of the 1920s. After he received disks containing classithat, many foreigners were strand-fied information on research in the ed in a country gripped by growing Arctic Ocean," Itar-Tass said, cit-fear and parancia. This worsened ing "well-informed sources."

had received "our own reports, in-

ing what they call detention centers

for Crostians and Muslims," and

An official who has access to

"I found nothing confirmed.

There were comments in cables

over the last five or six weeks say-

ing we have to be concerned that

From the time combat began be-

since the spring, foreign diplomats have avoided the war zones.

any hard information."

The agency responded that conditions in the newly independent that "Serbian forces are maintain-

began publicly condemning the State Department on Aug. 4 and

Serbian practice of "ethnic cleans. Ang. 5, and then President Bush on

ing" — driving Muslims and Aug. 6, stated that the United Croats out of communities in States was unable to confirm these

American diplomatic personnel intelligence reports and diplomatic

in Belgrade and Zagreb cabled re- cables about the Yugoslav conflict

those areas."

General Krayushkin spoke after giving the Austrian Embassy a list of more than 200 Austrians who

The security ministry plans to set up a reading room in Moscow to we people easy access to KGB files, the press agency said. ■ American Held as Spy

has been detained by security po-lice in the northern Russian city of Marmansk, The Associated Press reported from Moscow. The American, identified only as

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CAMPAIGN '92 / SPOTLIGHT ON REPUBLIE

malist killed in Lebay

Buchanan Switches Targets, Not Tactics

HOUSTON - When it came to attacking President George Bush during the primary season, Patrick J. Buchanan was so ferocious that he made the Democratic nominee, Bill Clinton, look like St. Francis

of Assiss, the saint Mr. Buchanan once scomed as "the pacifist with the pigeons." Here at the Republican convention, Mr. Buchanan was

as bellicose as ever. He made peace with Mr. Bush by declaring war

on Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Buchanan, who challenged Mr. Bush in the primaries, embarrassed the president by winning strong protest votes during the early battles in New Hampshire and Georgia. In a speech to the convention Monday night, he took back nothing, apologized for nothing, changed absolutely nothing in his message. In fact, he pointedly gave credit for victory in the Cold War not to the Republican president seeking re-election, but to his favorite president and former boss.

"Ronald Reagan made us proud to be Americans again," Mr. Buchanan declared. "We never felt better about our country, and we never stood taller in the eyes of the world."

never stood taller in the eyes of the world."

Still, Mr. Bush could be secure in the knowledge that for at least

the next 10 weeks, one of the most acidic voices in American politics

would be pouring his scorn on the other guys — not only on Mr. Clinton, but on Hillary Clinton. For a self-described "conservative of the heart" who sees social issues as the core and economics as just

so many numbers floating around the periphery, the targets were

"The agenda Clinton & Clinton would impose on America — abortion on demand, a litmus test for the Supreme Court, homosexual rights, discrimination against religious schools, women in combat units — that's change, all right," Mr. Buchanan said.

"But it is not the kind of change America needs," he said. "It is not the kind of change we can abide in a nation we still call God's country."

Signs Point to Some Haziness About Quayle

HOUSTON — The case of the incredible shrinking vice president: One of the more subtle slights is the official Bush-Quayle conven-

In 1988, the ticket's official posters, placards and buttons featured

the names of both halves of the ticket in stark relief, white letters on a

This time around, the president's name is still in vivid white, but the vice president's name has been changed to a reddish purple that tends to fade out of view against the purplish-blue background, especially in newspaper photographs and on television.

Vice President Dan Quayle is not without his boosters, however. A

group called Accuracy in Academia has distributed blue, green and beige cards of talking points to encourage delegates to talk about what a "courageous, influential" and "impressive" leader the vice

Mr. Quayle's proposed virtues included his ability to compel "the Environmental Protection Agency to redefine its definition of wetlands" and the fervor with which he "privately opposed the idea of

Convention's Remembrance of Things Past

HOUSTON — There they go again.

The memories came back in a rush. Adolfo, Ivan Boesky. Greed.

Junk bonds. Ketchup as a vegetable. Designer freebies. The Evil

Empire. Power lunches. Brown Six Yellow ties. "Cats." Catnaps.

With the return of Ronald and Nancy Reagan on Monday night,

nostalgia swept the convention half.

So what, conventioneers were asked, do you miss most about the

"Ronald Reagan," said Bortic Dassler, an alternate delegate from

"Cigarettes," said Bruce Zanka, a former White House aide,
"Chopping wood and cleaning brush," said Peggy Noonan, a

"Donald and Ivana Tromp, for making the rest of us look so good," said Ron Reagan, the former president's son. (NYT)

Ronald Reagan on the Democrats: "What they truly don't understand is the principle so eloquently stated by Abraham Lincoln: You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. You cannot help the wage-carner by pulling down the wage-payer. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich. You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves."

• The strongest aftershock of the Landers-Big Bear earthquake sequence in more than a mouth, a magnitude 5.2 temblor, hit

Southern California, shaking a wide area but causing no reported

In John Demianjuk's case, a federal appeals court in Ohio ordered a special inquiry into the Justice Department investigation that led to his being stripped of his citizenship and sent to Israel to stand trial

Armed with a new study that shows minority-owned businesses still get a relatively small share of state contracts, New York state is

resurrecting a program that requires contractors to reserve a certain

proportion of state work for companies headed by women and members of minority groups, state officials said.

• The administration of Mayor David N. Dinkins of New York City

and the City Council have agreed to go ahead with construction of a \$550 million incinerator at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, while accelerat-

• An affirmative action plan for Birmingham, Alabama, was unheld

by a federal district judge after more than a decade of litigation. The plan includes numerical hiring goals that were attacked by the Reagan administration and by white city employees.

• In the retrial of a former Miami police officer accused in the 1989

deaths of two black men, a judge has urged that the case, which has already been shifted from Miami to Oriando to Tallahassee and back

• A tropical depression strengthened into a storm designated Andrew, the first named system of the 1992 Atlantic humicane season,

but it was no immediate threat to land, Miami meteorologists said.

to Orlando, be transferred yet again: back to Tallahass

ing New York City's recycling program.

Away From the Hustings

former Reagan speechwitter.
"Ronald Reagan," said Bill Shepard, a Maryland delegate.

Quote-Unquote

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• Thirty white-tailed does will be rounded up this week at a Washington National Zoo research center to test a contraceptive vaccine that scientists hope may he used to control burgeoning suburban deer populations, so that controversial hunting can be avoided. • A preguent woman who injected cocaine into a vein as she was about to go into labor had not abused her baby, Connecticut's

highest court ruled in Hartford, even though the child was born several hours later severely transmatized, pale and deprived of oxy-





A sea of supportive signs greeting President George Bush at the Republican convention's welcoming rally at the Astrodome. Glenn Stockton, a delegate from Fort Scott, Kansas, setting the mood for the president with a symbolic nose during the opening session.

some distress. The evangelicals have a reputa-

tion in certain parts for being small-minded or oppressive or even loopy. This they ascribe to the "liberal media," the mere mention of which

brought hisses during the God and Country

"I think the media are actually good people,

people who want to do good, but they go at it from the human perspective, not God's," said

Sylvia Hellman, a Christian Coalition member

"Our values derive from the Scriptures and from Judeo-Christian values 2,000 years old,"

said Ed Tarpley, a delegate from Colfax, Loui-

siana. "Our values are not governed by the changing events of the world."

When they are out of step, it only confirms their belief that the world is a cursed place in

need of redemption; being out of step is the divine condition Pope John Paul II calls "a sign of contradiction." And when they are excoriated or ridicaled, they are consoled by the Bible

verse that says "blessed are you when men

A political force that demands neither fre-

quent victory nor widespread popularity is a

force that doesn't easily wither. Scripture says,

and this convention now knows, you don't seek

from Dallas.

revile you."

Religious Right Rides High in Houston

By David Von Drehle

Washington Post Service
HOUSTON — Elvis is dead, not to mention the lead singer from the Platters, but Pat Boone still looks about 27 years old, still sings in a voice as soft and fluffy as an angora sweater, and remains among the rare men who can wear a cream-colored suit with a straight face.

Clearly, even if the people known in Republi-can circles as "the cultural clite" don't groove to Mr. Boone, the guy is doing something right.

And you might say the same thing about his

fellow evangelical Christians on the religious right. They looked pretty trim at their big "God and Country" rally, where they celebrated their considerable influence on the Republican platform. They looked especially good, considering that they were rumored to be as dead as white buck shoes back in 1988.

"Well, this is a resurrection here today!" cried Pat Robertson, the television evangelist, broadcasting executive, past and maybe future presidential candidate. A huge roar rose from

the hage crowd. They have taken this convention slightly by surprise with their robust appearance, mustering perhaps 300 of the more than 2,000 delegates, all of them full of the spirit and impas-sioned for the cause. The religious right was politicized by what seems to them an epidemic

of sin and license in the late '60s and early '70s. who look on victories of the religious right with When their influence waned in the last election, some thought they had passed on.

Instead, on this year's platform committee, conservative Christians — as Mr. Robertson likes to call them—hammered hard for uncompromising anti-abortion language, and they

Nor did they stop there. They inserted references to God and America's "Judeo-Christian" heritage into the platform. They policed the text for phrases that might smack of what they call "secular humanism," squinting, for example, at a reference to "humanitarian aid." They assured that any scriptural references in the platform came from the authorized, or King James, version of the Bible.

And people suddenly started talking about how the religious right might be the tail wag-ging the dog here. Their big rally overflowed from a ballroom, and Ralph Reed Jr., executive director of the Christian Coalition, was crowing

"We are here to celebrate a victory. Within the past hour, the Republican Party passed a pro-life, pro-family platform! The feminists threw everything they had at us! We won and

It cannot be denied that there are Americans the living among the dead.

BUSH: With Assaults, President and Convention Get Off to a Feisty Start

1990, George Bush signed the second-biggest tax increase in American history. Under Bill Clinton, Arkansas has the second-lowest tax burden per person in the country. Those are the facts. Now back to the show."

(Continued from page 1)

Mr. Bush's nomination to a second term was set for Wednesday night, and his acceptance speech for Thursday. Conservatives pressed for a presidential call for sweeping tax cuts, but administration officials spread the word not to expect any dramatic proposals.
"It'll be a good speech," Mr. Bush vowed

Tuesday.

From the convention podium and in television interviews, administration officials and campaign sides attacked Mr. Clinton on everything from his economic program to social issues to his gubernatorial record on the environment and crime.

Convention speakers dusted off two hugely successful themes from their campaign against the 1988 Democratic nominee, Governor Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts: pollution in Boston Harbor and Willie Horton, a Massachusetts convict who raped a woman while on a

"After it rains the water in Northwest Arkansas has more fecal bacteria than Boston Harbor's," said Michael Deland, the chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality. "Under Slick Willie's watch, Arkansas ranked 47th out of the 50 states in avoiding oil spills," he said, referring to Governor Clinton. "It ranks 43d out of 50 in terms of avoiding the release of nerve-damaging toxins into the environment."

■ A Combative Speech From Bush

Dan Balz of The Washington Post reported from Houston. In a combative speech at a welcoming rally

ing "the most stirring political comeback since Harry Truman gave them hell in 1948." Mr. Bush's address, marked by sarcasu to-

ward his opponents and bravado about Republican prospects, stole the show on the opening day of a convention designed to revive and define the president's campaign and tear into Mr. Clinton and the Democrats. The speech showed an enthusiastic candidate

finally throwing off any pretense of Oval Office decorum. He was more animated and biting than he has been all year and promised his supporters that he would not let up on the Democrats for the duration of the campaign. "For the next 78 days," he said, "we're going

to go out there to ask the American people a simple question: Who do you trust to do what's right for the United States of America?"
Mr. Bush's pugnacious speech helped provide the tonic that Republicans have been seek-

ing from the president, who had said for weeks on Monday, Mr. Bush set the tone for the that he would not become fully engaged in his convention, attacking Mr. Clinton and promis- re-election campaign until this week

Clinton and Strategists See Both Risk and Gain O In Republican Ferocity

By David Maraniss Washington Post Service

LITTLE ROCK, Arkansas — Bill Clinton and his strategists, monitoring the Republican Na-tional Convention in Houston from their perch in Arkansas, expressed conflicting sentiments about the Republicans' blistering attacks on the Democratic presidential nominate and his wife, Hillary.

Clinton campaign officials main-tained that some of the rhetoric, especially from Patrick J. Buchanan, Mr. Bush's erstwhile primary opponent now turned general-election attack dog, seemed so strident that it might frighten undecided

On the other hand, strategists here said they expected the four days of Clinton-pounding to have a marked effect in the polls, peranged your sense of smell. The question is whether the Republi-cans can deliver a punch this week with that kind of impact where it changes the whole smell and feel of the campaign. So far it kind of smells the same."

Mr. Clinton, who has spenaps cutting the Democrat's lead by 10 or 15 points by the time the convention concludes Thursday.

"There's no doubt they're going to cut the lead," one said. "But it's like someone said of a Mike Tyson punch, that it landed so hard it chnt the last two days dealing with Arkansas state budget problems, said he had not watched any of the convention on television but had read reports from his staff and por-show."

tions of the most critical speeches. He said Mr. Buchanan's Monday night speech was "just amaz-

Mr. Buchanan portrayed Mrs. Clinton as the ideological leader of a "Clinton-Clinton" administration that would push a radical femi-

"Pat Buchanan in his life has never done as much as Hillary to strengthen families and children," Mr. Clinton said. "The very idea that he would be up there attacking her shows you how impoverished they are for ideas, how out of touch they are, how irrelevant a lot of what they're doing is. But it's what they know how to do - divide and use those wedges to personally at-

A Clinton aide, George Stephanopoulos, characterized the opening 36 hours of the Republican convention as "It's vesterday in America." a satirical reconfiguration of former President Ronald Reagan's 1984 theme, "It's Morniag in America.

The Clinton camp also unveiled 15-second television commercials that began running in two markets — Houston and Washington — as counterpoints to the Republican convention rhetoric.

One spot goes: "More facts. Under George Bush, America has had no growth in private sector jobs . . . and wages have fallen. This year under Bill Clinton, Arkansas leads the nation in job growth . . and incomes have grown at twice the national rate. Those are the facts. Back to the

Republicans Hire Old Pros To Toughen Media Attacks

The Associated Press

HOUSTON - In a further sign that the Bush campaign intends to play hard-nosed politics with Bill Clinton, the veteran Republican media adviser, Roger Ailes, has been lured from retirement to toughen communication and ad-vertising, campaign officials said

campaign director in 1984 and his tioned."

chief political assistant from 1985

One campaign adviser said the

moves were part of a "leaner, meaner campaign shake-up" initi-ated by the incoming White Honse chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, that might also include some cuts of midlevel staff members. "They want some more political.

guidance to the advertising and communications," the adviser said. "The communication guys don't Also joining the Bush-Quayle communications," the adviser said, campaign will be Mitchell E. Daniels ir., a soft-spoken strategist who have a lot of experience in the politwas President Ronald Reagan's ical area despite being well-inten-

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Good Wife/Bad Wife: Marilyn Quayle as Hillary Clinton's Foil

By Alessandra Stanley

New York Times Service HOUSTON-In the Republican Party, Marilyn Quayle is seen as having one spe-

cial gift: she is the Un-Hillary. At a time when Republicans have por-trayed Governor Bill Clinton's wife, Hillary, as a radical feminist in demore Talbot's clothing, Mrs. Quayle is making a virtue of something she used to describe with occasional bitterness — having given up her

own legal career.

It is that sacrifice that has catapulted that with as much tight-lipped conviction as the vice president's wife.

Addressing the noctal process president's wife.

Shella Tate, a former White House press as the vice president's wife.

Addressing the noctal process pressident's wife.

Addressing the noctal process process pressident's wife.

Addressing the noctal process process

Mrs. Bush is an icon of an older genera-

to Mrs. Chinon, Bush aides then to keep the fiercely intelligent and outspoken Mrs. Quayle in the background.

In this campaign, her fliminess is more in favor. Even Mrs. Bush has begun criticizing the "liberal" press, and nobody does that with as much tight-hipped conviction on the view specializer.

that ABA." Among the American Bar Association's failings, she said, was that it had given "honor to Hillary Clinton and Anita"

The Bush-Quayle forces, however, did supermom—a woman who brought the same high-intensity discipline to coaching interview.

Among the American Bar Association's failings, she said, was that it had given "honor to Hillary Clinton and Anita"

The Bush-Quayle forces, however, did supermom—a woman who brought the same high-intensity discipline to coaching and Democratic dupes of communism who interview.

tion of wives who stayed home, so Marilyn
Quayle, a lawyer and baby boomer, will
of staff, was asked to draw distinctions
serve as the campaign's generational foil to
Mrs. Clinton.

Marguerite Sullivan, Mrs. Quayle's chief
of staff, was asked to draw distinctions
between her boss and Mrs. Clinton. "Marilyn Quayle is absolutely committed to her

Mrs. Quayle rejects the notion that,
when it comes to Hillary Clinton, there is
any common ground. She dismissed the
her husband's earliest campaigns.

"She cuts her own hair," said her close

cott, who co-wrote their liberal-bashing spy thriller, "Embrace the Serpent," sums up Mrs. Quayle and Mrs. Clinton: "Philosophically they are opposites. And Marilyn

Like Mrs. Clinton, Mrs. Quayle is sur-

ry committee that she heads. Among her intimates, she is revered as 2

between ner boss and Mrs. Clinton.

It is a marked departure from Mrs.

Onsyle's treatment in 1988, when, in an errie foreshadowing of what has happened errie foreshadowing of what has happened at 7 P.M."

Mrs. Clinton. Bush aides tried to keep

Mrs. Clinton. Bush aides tried to keep

between ner boss and Mrs. Clinton. It is a marked departure from Mrs.

Suggestion that Mrs. Clinton is experiencing the same kind of criticism that so netting the same k ton is," she told reporters for Newsweek. died of cancer.

But in public, Mrs. Quayle cannot cloak rounded by close female friends who speak glowingly of her humor and compassion, her extraordinary dedication to such strategists, including Secretary of State causes as promoting early detection of James A. Baker 3d, who she believes did breast cancer and her tireless efforts on not do enough to defend her husband in behalf of the international disaster adviso- 1988. Even after 12 years in the clubby atmosphere of political Washington, Mrs. Quayle's real-world views are as black and

Herald Tribune.

Finally, Help for Somalia

High marks to President George Bush, and to whoever oudged his pen, for ordering the Pentagon to airlift food to millions of starving people in Somalia.

What one U.S. aid official calls "the world's worst humanitarian disaster" has been caused by devastating drought and a senseless clan war that forced 2 million farmers from the land. Besides the airlift, Washington will fly in 500 armed United Nations guards and seek a Security Council resolutioo authorizing "additional measures" to assure arrival of humanitarian relief. The Bush administration should

have done this months ago. Distribution has been the main problem in getting food aid to the Somali interior and to the capital. Mogadishu, the scene of savage street warfare. Human rights groups charge that the United States was dragging its feet, fearful of an electionyear quagmire in the Horn of Africa. The administratioo says it has long been ready

to move but was waiting for the United Nations to take the lead

Whatever the case, argently needed aid is now en route, and Somalia's capricious warlords will have to contend with UN guards and the U.S. Air Force, Nobody pretends to have pat solutions for the chaos that followed the ouster in 1991 of Somalia's longtime dictator, Mohammed Siad Barre. But to say that nothing could be done, that Somalia was too messy and remote, would have been a shameful, unthinkable abdication.

The new measures should sober belligerents and begin to comfort the afflicted. After similar humanitarian missions in Kurdish Iraq and Bangladesh, the U.S. armed forces will gain precious experience in what may be an increasingly needful role. Even in this political season, President Bush deserves bipartisan applause for his Somalia mission

-THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Back Iraq's Opposition

A year ago, George Bush had reason to hope that his leadership of the coalition victory over Iraq would cement his re-election, if not a place in history. But that was before the American people learned how his administration, meaning to moderate Saddam Hussein, had built him up for his attack on Kuwait. It was also before Saddam Hussein showed that he could survive the coalition's worst, maintain some sort of future weapons capability, repress internal challengers and defy international ceasefire terms. There is no confirmation that, as a New York Times news story asserted, Mr. Bush planned to provoke a confrontation with Baghdad over weapons inspection this week to aid his campaign; the inspection produced no showdown. But there is plenti-ful evidence that the Iraq issue is going to plague Mr. Bush all the way to November.

If Mr. Bush oow just goes with the flow in Iraq, be will be open to criticism first for negligently aiding and then for tolerating a tyrant's misrule, for condoning the eventual strategic revival of Saddam Hussein and meanwhile his domination over subject peoples, for being "prudent" to a fault. But the likeliest military steps, if Mr. Bush takes them, will still leave Saddam Hussein in

power and will consign Mr. Bush to endless nagging questions about whether he acted simply to play to the political gallery. Either

way his burden gets heavier. The odd thing is that at the moment the keenest pressure on President Bush is coming not from Saddam Hussein but from American policy critics. Some speak for a crucial source of his political support, the Republican right. Sensing their man's vul-nerability, they arge him to go beyond his until now failed policy of inviting a coup from within the Sunni elite, and to expand support for insurgent and avowedly democratic Kords in the north and Shiites in the south. A not unreasonable rejuctance to get drawn too deeply into exceedingly shifty local and regional terrain has held the administration back so far.

Election or no election, it is time not for a flop but for a careful shift in American policy to strengthen support for the insurgent groups. This could meet the greater menace that Saddam Hussein poses to them now. No course can hope to work, however, if President Bush does not lay it ont clearly before doubting regional partners and skeptical Americans alike.

- THE WASHINGTON POST.

Republicans Need Change

The platform that the Republican convention adopted on Monday in Houston rings with partisan passion, but as a document to promote President George Bush's campaign for re-election it lands with a disappointing thud.

Americans everywhere are grumbling over economic stagnation and long for new ideas. This platform supplies a ritualistic roster of old ones — dogma that is not only tired but also discredited. By comparison, the 1992 Democratic program floats, lighter than air, on some utopian assumptions about growth. But at least it is a program.

Just how much the public wants action is dramatically documented in the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll, Does the country need real change? An astounding 92 percent of the public answered yes. Would electing Bill Clinton bring about real change? Fully 63 percent answered yes. Would re-cleeting Mr. Bush bring about

real change? A mere 15 percent said yes. So what bold ideas does the platform advance? None. The Republicans proclaim their enduring devotion to a balanced budget amendment. They call for reneging on the 1990 congressional budget agreement to hold down the deficit. They embrace deregnlation so eagerly that they almost claim credit for Jimmy Carter's monumental oil and gas deregulation. And they embrace supplyside economics with a zeal that crases the

memory of the huge Reagan-Bush deficits. Underlying all the Republican platform's

economic proposals are two convictions:

that tax increases, for whatever purpose, hurt the economy, and that private invest-ment is productive while public spending is

The Republicans surely have a strong arsument that the proposals for public investments advocated by the Democrats could casily turn into cophemisms for old-fash-ioned pork if President Bush were not on hand with vigilant vetoes. But the Republicans drive their argument out the window.

inherently wasteful.

The test for investment is not whether it is private or public but whether it is productive. In truth, studies show that public investments, wisely selected, make substantial contributions to economic growth, Public investments in highways, fiber-optic telecommunications and training for disadvantaged workers can boost productivity more than equal amounts of private investment. The platform takes the cramped view that taxpayers see no benefit in helping educate other people's children; but most Americans are not that shortsighted.

The platform writers have not seen a tax cut they don't like, a tax increase they don't despise. Mr. Clinton's proposed increase in payroll taxes to finance worker training is automatically wrong; yet tax giveaways to upper-income families or real estate investors are presumed to promote productivity. The platform rehearses the party's greatest hits. That may placate conservatives. But it will do little, in this financially fearful time, to address most Americans' fears.

-THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Comment

A Big Step for North America

The North American Free Trade Agreement announced last week is Mexico's green card for entry into the modern, free market economy that brings prosperity to her American and Canadian neighbors to the north. It holds out the promise of releas-ing Mexico from Third World poverty and frecing its vast human and material resources for the development of the largest, richest trading bloc ever.

Viewed in this light, it is perhaps the most important security pact any U.S. administration has negotiated since the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed to deal with the Soviet threat. There are co Mexican missiles aimed at the United States. But there are millions of Mexicans in an exploding population who in future years will either have the means to live in their native land or migrate northward. Mexican stability is manifestly in the longrange interest of all of North America. - The Balitmore Sun.

Message of a Rugby Match

The All Blacks carved a place in history on Saturday as the first New Zealand side to win a rugby test series on South African

turf. Apart from symbolically ending South Africa's decade of isolation in rugby, this game had heavy political messages for the South Africans as well as bringing them top competition in the game they love the most. They were able to watch such competition in the Afrikaner heartland solely because of the dramatic reforms their government had made in removing apartheid and moving toward a fairer political structure. Without this, the message is clear, the door would slam again and South Africa would face

further ostracism and more sanctions.

In New Zealand's case the message was twice as dramatic. Half the team that beat the Springboks were New Zealand Maoris or Samoans. From the moment of the prematch haka they demonstrated how well a multiracial team can play together. The message which even the most obtuse Afrikaner should get from this is that if people of all races can play rugby together they certainly can live and work together. It is essential for South Africa to succeed with its reforms, painful though the process is and hampered though it may be from extremists of the right and the left. South Africa needs to succeed so its locomotive economy can help pull the whole African continent out of the most dreadful economic mess.

- The Dominion (Wellington).

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**Director de la Publication; Richard D. Summons Chairman from 1958 to 1982: John Hay Whitney

Chairman from 1936 to 1982: John Hay Whitely

Editor for Asia: Michael Richarkson, 5 Canterbury Rd., Singapore 0511, Tel. 472-7768, Tix. RS56928

Ming, Dur. Asia, Rolf D. Kra sepuhl, 50 Gloucester Rd., Hong Kong, Tel. 8610616, Telecc. 61170

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A New Focus on Saddam

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — U.S. war plans for a strike against Saddam Hussein now center on the Iraqi dictator's escalating campaign of terror against the Shittes in southern traq—not on United Nations inspections of government ministries in Baghdad. The media spotlight that swept Baghdad this past weekend focused attention on the right church but the wrong pew.

The spotlight was switched on by a New

York Times account that predicted a confrontation on Monday over a UN demand to inspect the Ministry of Military Industrialization in Baghdad. The story had a basis in fact, but it reported a decision on U.S. military reprisals that had been changed before the account appeared.
Plans to have U.S., British and French

varplanes strike inside Bashdad immediately if the Iraqis refused a new inspection were

Under the twin pressures of Saddam's intransigence and the U.S. election campaign, Bush is reversing the failed policies he has pursued since the end of Desert Storm.

altered as a result of a continuing debate at senior levels of the Bush administration. At issue is the degree of provocation by Saddam needed to justify new coalition air attacks. In a sense, these are details that one of America's great newspapers happened to mishandle in a way that had Potus — the president of the United States, in White Honse jargon — chewing the carpet. Such misunderstandings between the press and presidents are familiar in Washington in election years in which U.S. troops are engaged abroad. A president's motives for ordering Americans into combat inevitably come under intense scrutiny.

The New York Times account went too far in suggesting that George Bush was planning a military strike purely for political gain. But Mr. Bush bears some responsibility for this imbroglio as well. Here is why I think this.

inspectors access to the Ministry of Agricul-ture in Baghdad for nearly three weeks. But the final go-ahead for air raids on Baghdad was withheld when misgivings surfaced in the coalition and within the administration over the probable international reaction to bombing Iraqi ministries. Saddam could manipulate the timing and form of such confrontations, which might involve

"Not everyone was convinced of the wis-

Turkish sirfields for such missi

The military implications of Turkey's move were slight. The United States can mount attacks on Baghdad from aircraft carriers, and the coalition air force can operate from Saudi fields. But Ankara's cold feet had significant political impact in coalition capitals.

America, Britain and France reached agreement in principle on new military action against Saddam two weeks ago, as reported in this column. Washington, London and Paris are determined out to permit a repetition of the humiliating standoff that occurred when Iraq refused in July to allow United Nations

heavy civilian casualties.

dom of bombing ministries that we were say-ing had to be inspected and searched for documents or materiel that our bombs would have destroyed," says one administration of-ficial. There was a feeling after a great deal of discussion that to be persuasive our focus had to be broader than bombing ministries, particularly since the urgent cause for concern right now is Saddam's growing brutality against the Shittes in the south."

A clear sign that attacks on Iraqi ministries

would be controversial came from Turkey, which suddenly announced this month that coalition aircraft would not be allowed to use

In characteristic overreaching, Saddam has chosen this moment to intensify his war against



the Shiites. Iraqi aircraft flew nearly 100 sorties one day last week in a dramatic increase of activity that has included bombing and straiing runs agamst unarmed Shiftes, according to U.S. intelligence reports. American officials now believe Iraci opposition accounts that say Saddam's forces are systematically poisoning water sources in the Shitte marshlands. The plight of the Shittes and Iraq's refusal

to renew a memorandum of understanding to permit United Nations relief workers access to Iraqi civilians are the make-or-break issues of negotiations that were begun in Baghdad on Monday by Jan Eliasson, head of the UN emergency aid program.

U.S. officials see Mr. Eliasson's mission as

decisive in determining whether force will again be used on Saddam. The New York

Times was premature, and looking the wrong way, in its reporting on an August Surprise.
But under the twin pressures of Saddam's intransigence and the U.S. election campaign, Mr. Bush is reversing the failed policies he has pursued since the end of Operation Desert Storm, such as letting Saddam's air force take to the air against the Shittes in the first place. The president's repeated failure to keep

direct military pressure on Saddam in the past 16 months makes it impossible today to un-ravel Mr. Bush's poblical fortunes from the messy and still dangerous situation in Iraq. He failed to draw clear and hard lines when he had a chance to do so. Now he must also carry responsibility for the impression that he is playing politics with Iraq.

The Washington Post.

Russia's Constitutional Trial: A Final Hearing on Lawlessness This tradition is oow being

By Richard Pipes

C AMBRIDGE, Massachusetts— On July 7, 1992, an unusual spectacle unfolded in the center of Moscow, off Staraia Ploshchad, where until recently the all-powerful Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had had its headquarters. In a small room, 13 magistrates sat in judgment on both the democratically elected

crats, stood up to them, it collapsed.

Three days later, Mr. Yeltsin issued a decree in which he accused the CPSU of direct involvement in the coup attempt. Hearings followed. On Nov. 9, 1991, Mr. Yeltsin issued a further decree asserting that the CPSU "was never a party" but "a special

Even if the Communists toppled the democratic government, they would be able neither to solve the basic problems that afflict the country nor frighten the population into total submission.

government of President Bons Yeltsin and its predecessor, the CPSU. The event had no precedent in Russian history, for Russia's governments always stood above the law. Watching the proceedings of the Constitutional Court, one had the sense of witnessing a dramatic break in the destiny of an ancient nation that had suffered more than most from the curse of lawlessness.

The antecedents of the trial go back to the abortive putsch launched one year ago by a group of Commu-nist officials, military officers and functionaries of the security services. Its immediate purpose was to prevent the signing of the new federal constitution, which would have deprived them of much authority. Ultimately, it was intended to put an end to perestroika, which they felt had gone out of control. They organized their coup badly, and when Mr. Yeltsin, supported by a few thousand brave demo-

MOSCOW — Last Aug. 19, the telephone rang at 6.30 A.M. It was a friend calling from California to tell us about a coup taking place here in Moscow. After an instant of

disbelief, I switched on the television.

An expressionless announcer was

telling us that Mikhail Gorbachev was ill and a state of emergency was

My husband and I stared at the

screen, petrified. Then, in the midst

of the announcer's litany, we sudden-ly heard the phrase, "for the further

improvement of the welfare of Soviet people." We had heard this cliche hundreds of times, but now we exchanged terrified looks. It was a sig-

nal that lies, hypocrisy and suppres-sion were returning. In that moment,

we shared the agony of lost hope.

A year later, it seems inconceivable

that for decades, people all over Russia lived in terror, in constant fear of

being arrested. My parents did, and

It may be argued whether Russia has in fact abandoned its Soviet past,

but the fear is gone. The Russian state

is no longer the ubiquitous monster

that terrorized its subjects, produced double-think, lies and betrayals. The

country may be broke and politically unstable, but its people no longer hesi-

My first thought a year ago was of my 7-year-old daughter, who was to

start school in September. I won-dered if she, like three generations

before her, would listen to the same

propaganda, if she would inherit the numiliating fear that could be traced

as far back as her great-grandparents.

I never met my paternal grandfa-ther. He was arrested on July 27, 1936.

taken away from his wife and 8-year-

old son, and disappeared. Only recent-

ly, when information was uncovered

about Stalin's victims secretly buried

in Moscow cemeteries, did we learn

the date of his death: March 8, 1937.

His wife (my grandmother) was

arrested a few months later for the simple reason of being his wife and

sentenced to 10 years in a labor camp. After her arrest, her son (my

father) was kidnapped by the KGB

and held in a reformatory for young delinquents. He was 9 years old. It

took his relatives more than a year to

tate to express their discontent.

being introduced.

my grandparents.

mechanism for the creation and realization of political power through fusion with state structures or their direct subordination" to itself.

The decree accused the CPSU not only of masterminding the putach but also of continuing to undermine dem-ocratic institutions with the view to staging another coup d'état. The CPSU was ordered to cease all activity on Russian territory and to turn over its properties to the state. The decree explicitly forbade prosecution of individual citizens for membership in the outlawed party.

Following this, 37 people's deputies representing the defunct CPSU petitioned the Constitutional Court to review the decrees for alleged violations of several articles of the republic's constitution. A group of anti-Communist deputies responded with a countersuit, charging the CPSU with being an un-constitutional organization. The two suits were tried concurrently.

A Year Later, We Live Without Fear

By Masha Lipman

trace him and get permission to bring him back to Moscow. When my parents got married in 1949, the status of their parents was this; one father executed; the other

(my mother's father) sentenced to 25

years in the camps for befriending an

American correspondent; and a mother forced to live in a small town 100

kilometers from Moscow because

freed political paisoners were not al-lowed to live in big cities. I was born a year before Stalin died in March 1953.

For people like my parents, the late 1950s and early '60s were a time of

faith and optimism. Stalin's evil was revealed and condemned; surviving

prisoners were rehabilitated; the Iron

Yet, freedom came slowly, and Ni-kita Khrushchev's thaw was brief.

Soon came the news of the first post-

look in their eyes. Was I being careful enough? they wanted to ask. Like my parents, I was full of anger and despan at the 1968 invasion of Czechoslova-

kia: when the state launched cam-

paigns against Andrei Sakharov and Alexander Solzheniusyn. But we never

By 1980, most dissidents were in

camps, some were forced to emigrate

and anyone who dared an open pro-

test was assured of prompt arrest. Yet

the flow of books never ran dry; rath-

er, more and more books were smug-

There also were friends from

abroad. The entrances to the com-

pounds where foreigners lived in Mos-

cow were guarded by militiamen. No

Soviet was allowed inside, so the nan-

nies, like me, who worked for corre-

spondents and diplomats had to meet

their Russian friends outside and ac-

company them past the guards. Ru-mor had it that the militiamen took

I was aware that my KGB file most

have been growing.
When Mr. Gorbachev announced

perestroiks in 1985, we knew better

than to take a party slogan seriously.

your picture as you passed by.

protested. We were afraid.

gled from abroad.

When I was in college, I took pride in bringing books to my parents. I pretended not to notice the anxious

Curtain gradually opened.

Stalin political trials.

I was in Moscow when the trial opened, doing research in the Central Party Archive that Mr. Yeltsin's decrees had at long last made available to scholars. The Constitutional Court invited me to judge the premises un-derlying the decrees, in particular two key questions: "Can one regard the CPSU as a political party?" and "Has the CPSU committed some violations of the Constitution, of laws and norms of international law, which give grounds for regarding it as an unconstitutional organization?"

I agreed to serve as expert witness on a subject to which I have devoted years of study. I did not take seriously warnings by some friends that this carried physical risks; It came some-thing of a shock, therefore, to learn a lew days later that Sergei Shakhrai. Mr. Yeltsin's principal spokesmen in the court, was nearly killed in a road accident that had all the earmarks of an assassination attempt.

Because of schedule conflicts, I re-

corded my views in a written deposition, confirming as historically sound the premises of the presidential deating methods of the CPSU: The Bolsheviks from the day of their October 1917 coup d'état acted not as a party but as a state within-the state, banning every rival political organization and taking all decisions affecting the govermment within the narrow confines of the Bolshevik Central Committee and its Polithuro. Since disbanding the Constituent Assembly in January 1918, they behaved in an indisputably unconstitutional manner.

Nothing that I wrote was new. But

But then a stunning story appeared in a Moscow paper in the fall of 1986. It

was about a few disappointed Jewish émigré families who had returned to the U.S.S.R. Until then, if émigrés

were mentioned at all in newspapers, they were referred to as "traitors."

This article, though, was a thunder-bolt. It told the stories of several Jew-ish families without labeling them

good or bad. Friends called each other

to ask, "Have you read it? Can you believe it?" There was a wave of such

stories. Literary magazines began to publish formerly banned books. Mr.

Sakharov was brought back from ex-

ile, political prisoners were released. The first free elections came in 1989,

and after that, "politics" no longer meant anti-Soviet activity. Politics went on in the Palace of Congresses,

where newly elected legislators were

engaged in fierce verbal battles.

The newborn democrats became a

real political force; and, to the alarm of hard-liners, Bons Yeltsin was elect-

ed president of Russia in June 1991. After that, the bard-liners began to

consolidate for one last blow. Two

A year ago, after the first terror and confusion, my husband and I went into the streets. I questioned myself and my nation: Would the inbred Soviet fear dominate, or

would our new freedom gain ground

A few hours later, standing in front of the "White House," I saw crowds

running to defend their president, the

democratic Russian government,

their dignity. They were fearless, ready to fight back.

By evening, the defenders of the "White House" were busily building

barricades. They did not waver when

news came that the building would be stormed. Thousands stayed on guard, and three young men lost their lives. The coup lailed three days after it was

launched. We had won, and I thought

of my daughter. She is the first child in

four generation not to be indoctrinated. She is the first not to wear a baby-

Lenin pin on her chest. She is the first

The writer is a translator and re-

searcher in the Moscow bureau of The Washington Post.

to grow up without fear.

in the hearts of my countrymen?

months later, they launched a coup.

history, what is obvious to Western sts can come as a revelation. The trial opened in an atmosphere charged with tennion. Outside the court room, behind barriers set up by the militia, crowds of Communist sympathizers demanded to be al-

in Russia, where for 70 years the CPSU had monopolized the histori-cal sources as well as the writing of

lowed in. They clearly wanted to dis-rupt the proceedings. I could not help thinking that only a year earlier, the roles would have been reversed: the militia would have kept behind barri-ess, if not behind bars, the very persons they were now protecting.
Inside the court, one Communist representative threatened a new coup, for which be was reprimanded

by the Chief Justice Valeri Zorkin and barred from further testimony. When a judge announced my name as a court-appointed witness, a Com-munist deputy spring to his feet to protest a foreigner's being called to testify at a Russian constitutional trial. To this, Justice Zorkin replied that the court was free to choose as its expert anyone it thought fit.

The proceedings had about them hammer and sickle hanging in the rear of the courtroom side by side with the Russian tricolor flag. Nine of the 13 judges are said to have belonged to the Communist Party. It is not clear how the CPSU can be prescuted under a constitution of its

own making (and still in force). The public, which has never known legal standards to be applied to its government, is receptive to arguments of Communists that the proceedings are a version of the Nuremberg trial and that the CPSU is tried not for having done anything wrong but for its hav-ing lost out in the struggle for power. But whatever the verdict on the Communist Party, the constitutional trial now in progress (it adjourned at the beginning of August for one month), is of great historic significance, for two reasons.

Russia never went through a fendel period, in the true sense of that word, and is unfamiliar with the precept that lord and vassal are equally subject to contractual obligations — that is, to legal norms, a precept later extended in Western democracies to relations between government and citizens. Not only czarist governments but even czanst officials enjoyed exemption from legal culpability.

Leain defined the "dictatorship of

the projetariat" as authority uncon-strained by law, and he constructed on this principle a pseudo-judiciary system that Stalin inherited and per-fected. In the entire history of Russia, and especially during the Communis reign, lawlessness was not simply a fact of life in the relationship between state and citizenry but an insti-tutionalized principle, the quintes-sence of the system.

breached. No matter what the outcome of the trial, the principle has been established — and this as a result of a suit initiated by the Communists themselves - that government, like a private citizen, is subject to law. It is the first step on the road to civil society and the creation of a constitutional framework without which no progress, least of all economic progress, is possible.
Second, the proceedings are likely

to provide Russians with an unforgettable lesson in their own history. Presidential experts, gathering evi-dence for the trial, have been allowed into the most closely guarded archival repositories of the CPSU and its agencies, including the KGB. Much seems to have been destroyed, but dozens of volumes have been compiled to serve as evidence of the pariv's criminal activity. When the trial resumes and the

spokesmen for the president have the floor, they will learn the full dimensions of the barbarities that had been committed to no other purpose than. to keep the Communists in power. The KGB already has been forced to \$28,000 persons for so-called antistate crimes, a figure that represents only a fraction of the millions who lost their lives without being formally sentenced to death as a result of police-inflicted and police-supervised

As the presidential party unfolds

bearings and malnutrition.

its case, the majority of the citizens will, for the first time, have the opportunity to learn what their parents and grandparents lived through and what consorship and fear had concealed from them. This is likely to have an enormous cathartic effect. Russia is in flux. The trauma of . Communism, created in the majority of the population, especially among the better educated, a revulsion against the past. They are thoroughly nd of the old national arrogance and of the messianism that gave it political expression. They suffer under the weight of guilt and inferiority that the Communists seek to turn to their own

advantage by denying they have any-thing to be ashamed of. But there is no return for the Communists. Even if they toppled the democratic government and re-claimed dictatorial authority, they would be able neither to solve the

on the road to a new Russia; the constitutional trial is its logical resohution. There is hope.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1892: Out in the Cold LONDON -Mr. Gladstone has dis-

tributed his offices with the usual result. Few have got the places they wanted or for which they deemed themselves best qualified. Many who counted on being "sent for" are left out in the cold. The new Labor party is as completely ignored as if this were a Tory Administration. The radical wing received the cold shoulder. Yet the Pall Mall Gazette tries to put a good face upon the matter, and has even persuaded itself that a "Socialistic Cabinet" has been formed.

1917: Tsar Is Removed

PETROGRAD - In the gray mist of morning, while the population was asleep, Nicholas Romanov and his family were removed from the Alexander Palace under the personal su-pervision of M. Kerensky, the Premier. On the platform before entering the train the man who recently reigned over Russia, and dishonored

Russia, bade farewell to the man who now practically rules Russia. The ex-Tsar looked calm but there were tears in the eyes of the grand duchesse. Like a funeral procession at daybreak
the Romanov family passed out of
the former scene of barbaric splendor and capricious power which steeped Russia in tears and blood.

1942: Labor Distraction SEATTLE - [From our New York

edition:] The Boeing Aircraft Company, maker of the flying fortress bomb er, plans to segregate women workers cause the men are always looking at them, thus slowing production.
"Women do rather well in war production, but they cause a distur-bance," said H. Oliver West, vicepresident of the company. "Many are, here for other than a serious purpose." Mr. West said that Boeing plans to segregate women in subassembly work, where women's dexterior is work, where women's dexterity is superior to man's, and where they will , be free of "all but working interest."

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Taiwan. (

Mills Intel Plan

2 World's Probab

basic problems that afflict the country nor frighten the population into tal submission.
The defense of Moscow's "White House" last August was the first step

The writer is Baird professor of history at Harvard and author of "The Russian Revolution." He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

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Property.

HOUSTON — George Bush has got 'em right where he wants 'em. His plane is on fire, he's miles from the target, he's hurtling down with a ton of bombs strapped underneath ... and there's no one in the air or on the ground who thinks he can get out of this one, Perfect! This is Bush at his most dangerous, as Saddam Hussein

and Bill Clinton may find out, at their peril. At the Republican convention in Houston, all the talk from those-in-the-know is about desperate political measures. Can James Baker, on his way back to the bridge, make the White House campaign churn the water together? Can Ronald Reagan keep the ships on the right flank from deserting the battle? Can the United Na-tions inspectors or the U.S. Air Force push Saddam to a blunder that could give the president—
this week! just in time!— a 20-point bump out of
his convention, as Mr. Clinton got a month ago? People say Mr. Bush needs the speech of his life to cut through the hopeless confusion of his administration, to make up for his own addled lack one look at Mr. Dukakis and defined him as he

LESS than two years after victory in the Gulf War sent his popu-larity soaring, President Bush has returned to his adopted hometown

of Houston as one of the most un-

popular incumbent presidents to seek re-election in five decades.

chief executive since Franklin Roo-

sevelt, as measured by Gallup, sug-gest that Mr. Bush faces the great-est challenge of any modern-era

president intent on keeping his job.
An analysis of Washington PostABC News and Gallup Poll data

shows Mr. Bush with:

The greatest sustained drop in

popularity. His approval rating has failen 57 points in Washington Post-ABC News polls since the conclusion of the Gulf War, when

he stood as the most popular presi-dent in the post-World War II peri-

od. Only Harry Truman's fall in the

ratings has come as close, Mr. Tru-

Public attitudes toward every

By Richard Ben Cramer

rabbit from a hat, a miracle — at least a genius speech writer. Baloney. They miss the point. There's only one fight the Republican Party and the Bushies have to win this week and that's the fight within the president's own breast.

Four years ago, the pundits and pollsters were all ready to write George Bush off. After all, the man was a wimp! He was 17 points down to Michael Durakis. He had no positions of his own, no plan. The Bush campaign was about nothing. In Boston, Mr. Dukakis's brainy young savants were choosing up offices in the West Wing of the White House.

Then they froze as George Bush began to take their hero apart. In three weeks, the governor's lead was gone, but more important, so was the wimp. We know what happened — he won 40 states. But what did it take? Mr. Bush never did define himself or present a plan for America. But he took

to tear everything down, to pick on those good Republicans who had labored so hard to build up this content of the gry was a little bully.
So then, Mr. Bush, so immaculately polite, could come at Michael (and Kitty) Dukakis with a broken bottle in each fist. He could run against criminal-coddlin' and for the Pledge of Allegiance. He could do whatever it took because it wasn't about

how the world really worked. He was just another Jimmy Carter, a technocratic tinkerer, who could

no more be trusted with America's fate in a hostile

world than could any other liberal Harvard wool-

h-head - a do-good little governor from a little

state who was going to give away the store! Where'd he ever been? What gave him the right

nothing anymore. He had one conviction, honestly held: Dukakis should not he president. When Saddam Hussein invaded Knwait, there was no one who would predict that the United States would go to war. It was too dangerous. It was politically impossible. The United States did not have the allies in the United Nations, the

year approval rating of less than 50 in an administration. The approval ratings of the last two incumbents to lose re-election bids — Gerald Ford percent has been re-elected. At the least, history suggests that an approv-al rating of less than 55 percent often and Jimmy Carter - averaged 47 and 41 percent during the first eight months of their final years in office.

presages a close election.

For Mr. Bush, there is a potential bright spot. Mr. Ford trailed Mr. Carter in August by 22 percentage points but came roaning back to make up 20 of those points by election day — which could suggest that Bill Clin-ton's lead is not insurmountable. Some experts wonder if this might he the election that proves the excep-tion to past patterns. Mr. Bush's fall from public grace seems to defy the conventional wisdom of barely a year ago. "His fall is almost as summing" said Larry Hugick, managing editor of the Gallup Poll, "as the analysis we

would have done a year ago saying that Bush was the most popular presi dent since Eisenhower or Nixon." - Richard Morin, director of

Who was this little guy? Dukakis didn't know assets in the region or the will in Congress. But you had to see Saddam through the Busheyes. Here was a tinhorn, never been anywhere, had no sense of how to behave. Jeez, Bush and Bake had been bending over backward, trying to bring him into the circle, make him a friend! And what does he do? He spurns Bush, beats up on a neighbor. (Those pictures on TV!) He showed no respect for

women, children — the gny was just a bully. So Mr. Bush shredded every option but a war against Iraq. He said that Saddam Hussein was no different from Hitler - and he meant it. He marched in to a morning meeting at the White House and announced to his startled staff: "I don't care if I get one vote in Congress. We're going in."

Now, you can see the old bomber pilot strapnow, you can see the out nomber pilot strapping on his plot-map and revving himself up. He's "sick and tired," he says, of "all this abuse" from the Democrats. "Twe held out my hand to those crazy guys" in Congress, he said on Monday. "And I've gotten it bitten off. I've been blamed for everything except that crazy scoring system they used in the Olympic boxing!"

Saddam is some to comply with those resolu-

Saddam is going to comply with those resolu-tions — all of theml Clinton had better stop "running down this country!" Bush is the warrior WASP and he has backed himself into the corner where he fights best. He has got himself convinced that he has been hit

unfairly, too many times. Any Andover man knows how to take care of a bully. When I asked Mr. Bush's men about the vicious **88 campaign, Lee Atwater, the campaign manager
— now deceased, alas — explained it in electoral
terms. They had to pile up the negatives on Michael
Dukakis's head to bring him down in the polls.
But Roger Ailes, the media man, who I think

understood Mr. Bush much better, explained that the attack campaign was more important to Mr. Bush personally. You have to give this guy a sense of mission, Mr. Ailes said. And once Mr. Bosh narrows his focus to a personal opponent, once he has that sense of personal mission, and personal combat, then, as Mr. Ailes said, "The only way to stop Bush is to kill him."

The writer is author of "What It Takes: The Way to the White House." He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

The Trick, You Might Say, Is Getting the Insurance

By Walter Wells

I was found in the first place. Not fol taker. The lawyer was confident — we just any car, at least oot for me, the just any car, at least oot for me, the 1975 Porsche 911 came into my life in 1982 with a past that included 90,000 kilometers and one change of paint, from the blue of a troubled sky to the hard edge of anthracite gray.

I say "found" simply because my wife secretly put together the money for me to buy it through several years of tightlisted

حكذا من الاحل

MEANWHILE

bookkeeping. When she surprised me with the news that she had accomplished this I was touched, even dumbfounded. I was also eager to spend the money. For nearly two years the car brought great pleasure, like any object of envy, of passion, of obsession. It carried us through the manicured European countryside, through dizzying Alpine switch-backs and along the smooth straight-aways of our heady first years in France.

It also brought nagging disquiet: The car was not insured against theft.

Explaining why that was the case was complicated for me at the time, certainly complicated now. Why would anyone keep a car like that and not insure it? Even if he didn't know he was living in one of the world's principal auto-theft capitals? Well, as I explained often ugh, always with a tightening throat, I had tried to buy insurance with a halfdozen companies and none of them would touch it. Not getting the message, I plunged ahead with my own protection plan, an expensive alarm system and a space in a locked garage,
And I used the car infrequently, Cars

are stolen from the street, I thought. If mine wasn't on the street, the thieves would take one of the others.

One morning, within weeks after paying a garage a large amount of money to take out all the dings and repaint the body, I went into my locked garage, took the elevator to the second basement, and

I had no car, no recourse. My heart was heavy, and not just with longing for the seat-back acceleration and other plea-sures the car had given me. It was mostly heavy with embarrassment, shamefaced embarrassment. Admitting the lack of insurance, no matter how many times went through the spiel, always sent listeners away in snickers. And boy could I identify with their reaction.

found a very large empty space.

Six years went by, and then the car was found again. In a telephone call from a very pleased Paris policeman, I learned that the Porsche had turned up — in an altered state, of course. Not just another color now (fire engine red, naturally), but with a different gearbox, a more powerful engine, a rear fender lift to make it look younger, and a forged registration card.

"The car is yours," said the cop.
"There's not the slightest doubt that
you'll get it back." He proposed that to celebrate the recovery I could maybe get him and his colleagues tickets for the a Une race.

The lawyer I hired was not really occessary, the police advised, but good insur-

DARIS - In a large sense, the car ance. It was advice that found a respectwould celebrate the recovery. There was but one guy who had been

tooling around in my car since acquiring it from a chop shop at an appreciably discounted price and with a clearly false registration card six weeks after it disappeared from my locked garage. He was caught through a fluke; For six years he chop shop. Then it suddenly closed up. (The owner had been arrested and locked up for auto theft.) So he brought the car to a Porsche dealer for serviciog. Much to Porsche's credit, it cracked the case. Things were askew. Numbers didn't match. The registration card was for some other car. The man who had the car was in trouble.

Arrested, he was charged with three offenses: Receiving stolen goods (namely, my Porsche), forgery and use of the forged documents (the registration card plus a bill of sale, ponexistent until he had created it), and verbal abuse of the police officers who picked him up.
At trial, three stem-faced jurists lis-

tened to everybody's story, conferred among themselves for two minutes, then convicted him on two of the charges but not of receiving stolen goods. Because that charge was the basis of my claim, the claim was adjudged urrecevable — inad-missible, outside the court's competence.

"So we'll win on appeal," said my lawyer. Since France is a country where, it is said, everything can be "arranged," usually meaning something like "fixed," I looked for extrajuridical help. A friend had a friend, a high-ranking court official, who could be approached. We arranged to the same of weren't talking anything like bribery, simply a whispered good word on the merits of my case. "Tell your friend not to worry," word came back, "I've looked at the dossier and it's clear. The car is his and he'll get it back."

Well, I didn't. As the second trial date approached, it turned out that correct procedure had not been followed. Papers were missing from the dossier. The defense, claiming that it had additional evidence, threatened ac-tion against me if I didn't drop the case. Back to the friend of my friend, Now his certainty about the outcome went in the other direction. "Tell your friend to drop his case," he messaged back. "He has no chance." Once again, I didn't have the right insurance.

But some lessons are never learned I have found another car, a 1975 911S, one of only 400, Porsche tells me, exported to the United States as part of the Silver Jubilee edition. The car arrives at Le Havre soon. It transits through Paris. then goes into a locked garage in a place far away. It is already insured against theft, its alarm system is the one most recommended to flummox thieves. Other anti-theft devices are also installed, special ones, known only to American car thieves. And maybe, just maybe, the car woo't be driven at all. Merely pos-

International Herald Tribune.

al rating of any president at a simi-lar point in his presidency. Only Jimmy Carter's public standing in Experts stress that care should be used when comparing Gallup results over time. Until the mid-1980s, the August 1980 was lower - and by a Gallup Poll was based exclusively on single percentage point. The second lowest average elect in-person interviews. Now surveys are conducted by telephone, a change

that appears to produce slight differ-ences in the results obtained on even

some identically worded questions.

Still, Gallup has found that no president with an average election-

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ilarly worded questions, although

these differences usually are small.

Opinion researchers urge camion in drawing conclusions from historical comparisons of polling data. Slight differences in the way different polling organizations conduct surveys may produce different results on tendent product and conduct and polling organizations conduct surveys may produce different results on tendent product different results on tendent product of the product

And Here in the Opposite Corner, Raring for a Fight . . .

Somalia: World's Problem, World's Job

of vision, to "define himself" anew. He needs a appeared through the Bush-eyes.

man saw his Gallup popularity plunge 55 points during a 15-month period immediately after World

War II, but he was able to recover

to win re-election two years later.

The highest job disapproval rating of any incumbent president seeking re-election. As measured by

perceptions of job performance, Mr. Bush is about as unpopular with the American people as Rich-ard Nixon was during the worst

The second lowest job approv-

tion-year approval rating. So far this year, Mr. Bush's Gallup approval

rating has averaged 40 percent, the lowest of any president since Mr. Truman during a comparable period

days of Watergate.

- m- 📌 The international community should build up a military coalition to deliver food and medicine to the starving people of Somalia. While there are dangers, ple of Somalia. While there are dangers, because of the civil war there, the country's geography would make it easy for foreign troops to be deployed and to reach the people in need.

MARC BOIANIC

Anna Quindlen ("Meantime, Somalia Anna Quindlen ("Metinume, Sornana
Is Worse," Aug. 13) and The Washington Post ("Calamity Scurcely Noticed,"
Aug. 14), among others, call on the U.S.
government to take the lead in helping
Somalia. Overlooked is the fact that Somalia is a member of the Arab League, a regional organization that includes some very wealthy countries. Why isn't the league taking care of its own? Why should it not be expected to take the lead in rescuing its brethren from famine?

STANLEY B. ALPERN. Villefranche-sur-Mer, France.

I see only one possibility for Somalia: Ten kilograms of rice for one rifle might

A. GASPERL Scheveningen, Netherlands.

The Busy Plutonium Trade Regarding the editorial "America Isti't Asia's Cop" (Aug. 11):

consider its remunciation of nuclear

has become the key silent partner in the trafficking of plutonium into Asia. With the blessing of the Reagan administra-tion, the U.S. government signed off on an international nuclear foreign policy that gave Japan a 30-year carte blanche to compile as much plutonium as it could produce in European and Japabe a reasonable rate of exchange, given nese separation (or reprocessing) plants. Some 45 metric tons of platonium will the number of weapons there.

have been separated in Europe and prepared for transport to Japan by the end of the century. It is estimated that Japan may well have stockpiled some 90 to 100 tons of plutonium by 2010.

As the Japanese prepare to transport the first of their plutonium shipments As The New York Times points out, from France to Japan this fall, their Asian the prospect of muclear proliferation is neighbors are becoming restive. North likely to supercharge the dynamic of the Korea has said Japanese stockpiling is a next 50 years as it did that of the last, threat. While such statements serve to Fear about North Korea's nuclear pro-gram may well lead South Korea to re-rea's concerns are understandable. South Korea's response has been to

weapons. This could force Japan to re-consider its policy against nuclear arms.

In the midst of this, the United States

In the midst of this, the United States

arrange for its own plutonium. In No-which will take some time to integrate in an otherwise stable society.

A better criterion for judging any gov-

includes the option for future separation of plutonium from South Korean irradi-ated nuclear fuel. Since Seoul's original nuclear fuel is of U.S. origin, as is a good deal of Japan's, such a contract would have had to meet with U.S. approval.

The Umited States has the power to stop these transactions. The threat posed by plutonium stockpiling in coming years could well lead to the construction of deterrent nuclear arsenals.

DAMON MOGLEN. Greenpeace International.

Two Cheers for Royalty Regarding "Down With Monarchy" (Letters, July 29):

Urban rioting cannot be equated with the monarchical system of government. Britain has always had royalty, yet inner-city rioting is a new phenomenon. It is due to the huge influx of immigrants,

American republic. NESTA COMBER. Vence, France. As an Australian, I respect my queen. She is fair and responsible. A constitutional monarch, she has only once inter-

ernmental system is the amount of cor-

ruption and crime. A little research

would show that European countries

with royal families have crime and cor-

ruption rates much below the average.

Well above average is a certain North

vened in our government. In 1975, the Australian Labor Party was unable to govern and so was dismissed by the governor-general (the Queen's representative). The move, widely condemned at the time, is now recognized as just and wise. Another example is the Thai king's

intervention to stop the violence in Bang-kok in May. Would Americans have sufficient respect for President George Bush

SIMON HAYES. Chiangmai, Thailand.

GENERAL NEWS

For Taiwan, Quiet Gains in Status Where It Counts

By Laurence Zuckerman

International Herald Tribune
TAIPEI — A diplomatic tug-of-war ended last month when Niger decided that \$50 million in hard cash was worth more than the promise of a low-interest loan and therefore decided to recognize Taiwan. Immediately, China, which established re-

considers Taiwan a "renegade province," broke relations with Niger and withdrew a group of doctors it had dispatched as part of a foreign-aid package. The incident was but one example of the diplomatic proxy war that Taiwan and China have been waging since 1949, when Chiang Kai-shek and the remnants of his Nationalist Anny were forced to seek refuge on Taiwan after their defeat by the Communications.

lations with the African nation in 1974 and

It is a war that Taiwan keeps waging despite the fact that the United Nations and most of the world withdrew recognition from Taipei and bestowed it on Beijing in 1971. Periodic competition over which of the two has the right to set up an embassy in Guinea-

Rissan or Nicaragna continues to make headlines. But meanwhile, virtually unno-ticed, Taiwan has subtly but significantly made diplomatic gains in Europe and Asia.

tries who have upgraded their status."
Foreign representatives and Taiwan offi-

cials say the change reflects the swift move toward democracy on the island in recent years as well as a growing recognition of its wealth and economic clout.

"In the past, our country was considered not very democratic," said Sainting Kung, director of the Foreign Ministry's Department of European Affairs. "It was a very

great problem."
Britain, Sweden and the Netherlands re-Britain, Sweden and the Netherlands re-cently dispatched career diplomats to head their unofficial representative offices in Tai-pei for the first time, replacing business exec-utives or trade officials. Australia and Cana-da will follow suit in the next few months. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and the three Baltic states, all of which had virtually no contact with Taiwan throughout the Cold

War, have set up or agreed to set up repre-sentative offices in Taipes, and negotiations

Periodic competition over which of the two has the right to set up an embassy in GuineaRissan or Nicaragua continues to make seadlines. But meanwhile, virtually unnoiteed, Taiwan has subtly but significantly and diplomatic gains in Europe and Asia.

"Everyone pays attention to African com-

A taboo against visits to Taiwan by high-level foreign officials was also broken last year when France's minister of industry and regional planning Roger Fauroux, visited the island privately. Since then, no fewer than 30 sitting ministers or former officials have come to Taiwan.

The ending of 40 years of martial law and the move toward a more democratically elected government have made Taiwan more palatable to the West. And \$63 billion in annual imports, \$87 billion in foreign exchange reserves and a decision to mount a multibillion-dollar infrastructure development program — referred to by one Western official as "the \$300 billion carrot" — have

Only 30 countries, mostly in Africa and Central America, have full diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Others that wish to be represented in Taipei without offending Being use trade offices or cultural institutes, a precedent set by the United States when it transferred recognition to Beijing in 1979.

Staff members of the American Institute discloss."

But foreign representatives say there is a limit to how far they can go. "Obviously, the PRC in a geopolitical sense is vastly more important than Taiwan," the Western representative said, referring to the People's Republic of China. And as the mainland economy and foreign trade grow, he added, Taiwan's influence will diminish.

tries nobody has ever heard of," said a Hong
Kong businessman who follows Taiwan
closely, "when the real story is the big countries who have upgraded their status."

joint development of Subic Bay naval base in Taiwan, the unofficial embassy, must resign from the Foreign Service before joining the private corporation, which is funded by the State Department. This is a more technibureaucracy.

Other countries who have career diplot mats in Taipei, such as Prance and Britain, follow the same practice or, in the case of Japan, send a retired ambassador.

Most countries are still extremely alert to the sensitivities of Beijing, which routinely protests anything that might hint at official recognition of Taipei. But they have been emboldened by the rapidly growing unofficial economic cooperation between Taiwan and the mainland.

"The interaction between Taiwan and the "Taiwan may be a diplomatic pygmy, but it is an economic giant," said the representative of people and money going back and forth make Beijing's protests somewhat ridiculous." mainland dwarfs any of our initiatives," said

Herald Eribune.

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in Cheju: Hyatt Regency

MOSCOW: Jailed Plotters of Anti-Gorbachev Coup Still Insist It Was an Act of Patriotism

tents" - he refused to use the word "coup" - as a "cry from the

History will hold responsible for the fate of the Soviet Union not those who made an attempt to save it but those who ruined our powerful and united motherland," he

Arrested immediately after the collapse of the three-day coup, the members of the self-proclaimed Emergency Committee have been ishing in prison since then. Once counted among the most powerful figures in the Soviet Union, they now share their plain

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145

prison cells with common crimi-nals, subsisting on a dict of boiled oats, potatoes and occasional ms little prospect that the "putschists" — as they are called here — will be brought to trial anytime soon. The investigation into the Aug. 18-to-21 coup, which was officially completed in January, was reopened this month to allow the study of new evidence. In a recent interview with the German magazine Stern, the chief

Russian prosecutor, Valentin Sto-

The official reason for the protracted legal proceedings is that several of the defendents have still umes of evidence and 50 three-hour videocassettes collected by the the last Soviet president.

Some Russian commentators have speculated that the government does not want to bring the leaders to trial at a time of deepening economic crisis. It is widely believed that they and their sup-porters would try to use the trial as a forum for exploiting a groundswell of discontent over rising prices and growing crime.

"A trial would provoke a new wave of dissatisfaction in Russia," Valentin S. Pavlov, the former 7 percent.

pankov, said he doubted that sentences could be handed down before the middle of next year, at the earliest.

Now. Various pretexts could be seized power on the evening of Ang. 18 after taking steps to isolate found for halting the case. The defendants are being accused under Soviet laws, but the Soviet Union at the Black Sea resort of Foros.

Now. Various pretexts could be seized power on the evening of Ang. 18 after taking steps to isolate shed.

Mr. Galaganov said that Prime Minister Pavlov went home "sick" does not exist anymore."

Opinion polls suggest that many several of the defendents have still several of the defendents have still not finished reviewing the 125 volumes of evidence and 50 three-hour overthrow Mikhail S. Gorbachev,

A poll in the evening newspaper Under Russian law, no trial can be held until all defendants have had the opportunity to study the evidence against them and to appeal.

Company Processor commentators remainder gave no opinion.

Growing disillusionment with the fruits of democracy, however, does not appear to translate into significantly greater support for the leaders of the coup. About 42 percent of Muscovites now describe themselves as supporters of the "democratic camp," down from 62

percent a year ago.
Support for the actions of the wave of dissatisfaction in Russia," Emergency Committee has grown said Alexei Galaganov, a lawyer for from 4 percent of the population to

nior officials to the Kremlin and told them that the president was ill and it was necessary to preempt a coup attempt by "democrats" who had allegedly drawn up a list of people targeted for execution.

The country learned about the coup at 6 A.M. the following day when state-run television and radio announced that Mr. Yanayev had taken over as acting president and began broadcasting Emergency Committee decrees.

The leaders of the Emergency Committee soon began arguing among themselves over how to deal with Mr. Yeltsin and other opposition leaders.

Aug. 20, Mr. Kryuchkov ordered try where almost everything seems the military to draw up plans to to have a price.
storm the Russian parliament Rival Russian publications reprime minister. We do not need a sharpening in the situation right

According to investigators, the members of the committee refused to approve the plan, fearing that it the German magazine Der Spiegel.

Mr. Krynchkov summoned se- on the second day of the coup. because Mr. Paviov had opposed the decision to order troops into

Although the pretrial investigation is ostensibly secret, details of the prosecution case are likely to pour out over the next few weeks. Mr. Stepankov and his assistant, Yevgeni Lisov, have sold their account of the investigation, along with copies of hundreds of prosecution documents, to the Moscow weekly Ogonyok, which passed

worldwide rights on to Stern. Newsweek magazine has bought the American rights for an undisclosed sum.

The trade in official documents Evidence collected by the prose-cution shows that, at 9 A.M. on ments, but little outrage in a coun-

building, known as the White called a similar scandal last an-House. But Mr. Yanayev and other tumn, when videotaped interroga-

U.S. Set to Begin Food Airlift to Somalia

New York Times Service
MOMBASA, Kenya — The first of 11 Pentagon aircraft landed here Tuesday for the start of two-month airlift of food to Somalia.

The airlift will help ferry some of the 145,000 tons of rice, oil, sorghum and other foodstuffs that Washington is sending to Somalia, as well as food from the United Nations and other countries, officials here said.

The C-130 and C-141 planes will begin flying food to Wajir in northern Kenya on Thursday for Somali refugees there and for trucking across the border, according to Brigadier General Frank Libutti, the head of the 34-member team that arrived here Tuesday.

The general said the start of flights into Somalia depended on the results of aerial surveys on airstrips in rural Somalia, where a delivery of food by nongovernmental organizations difficult and dangerous.

A combination of drought and anarchic strife among a number of heavily armed clans has produced the famine that the International Committee of the Red Cross estimates has killed tens of thousands of Somalis.

The Red Cross, which has been delivering food for 18 months, has estimated that onethird of the nation's 4.5 million to 6 million people are in imminent danger of death if large quantities of food are not delivered.

If necessary, U.S. aircraft and crew landing Somalia would be protected on the ground by American military personnel flown in on the aircraft, General Libutti said. Peacetime rules of self-protection will be in force when American military form a perimeter around the air-

"We are not here to flex military muscle," the general said.

The White House announced the American airlift late last week, after pressure mounted to alleviate the tragedy in which, the Red Cross says, hundreds and perhaps thousands of Somalis continue to die daily of starvation.

The American involvement is much larger in scale than during the famine in Ethiopia in 1984, when the Marxist government refused U.S. military help, according to Fred Fischer, the director of the U.S. Agency for International Development regional office in Kenya.

General Libutti said he had received "mixed reviews" from humanitarian organizations working in Somalia about the security situation. If it proved too risky to deliver food to airstrips because of threats from armed gangs, he would consider air-dropping, he said.

PARTY: Agenda Is an Essential

(Continued from page 1)

verting public housing into homes owned by low income Americans." and says that "the truest measure of our success will not be how many families we add to housing assistance rolls, but, rather, how many families we move into the ranks of homeownership."

The platform picks up on Mr. Quayle's war against litigation by calling for limits on medical malpractice cases, restrictions on the use of expert witnesses and changes

And it scores "a government mooopoly over the means of educating" and praises school choice pro-

Whether all this will be new enough to save Mr. Bush remains open to question, especially since conservatives have been promo some of these causes for a long

Peggy Noonan, who was the main architect of Mr. Bush's successful 1988 acceptance speech, argues that not just the president but all conservatives have a problem convincing the country that they

Latvians Warned on Rabbits

MOSCOW - Doctors in Riga, Latvia, warned people Tuesday not to eat rabbits sold in local markets after the theft from a research center of 42 infected with hepatitis and carcinogens, the press agency Itar-Tass reported.

are fresh, ready and engaged after more than a decade in power.

The difficulty Mr. Bush faces in

Up to now, said Linda DiVall, a Republican poll-taker, even the president's body language was un-

that's going to change after Thurs-

IRAQ: Air Exclusion Zone Is Due (Continued from page 1)

southern Iraq to protect the Shiite

on them.

Another British official said that, working with the United States and France, Britain would set up systematic monitoring of the airspace

the air over southern Iraq, we will shoot it down," the official said.
The official said Britain was ready to send six Tornado combat

provide a similar number of aircraft, and the United States substantially more.

He said the allies planned to into convincing the country that he cares about domestic policy.

toring on a 24-hour-a-day basis" and that the operation was not limand that the operation was not lim-

> ed Nations was expected to be given a warning that the air operation was about to begin. Baghdad has also been threat-

> ened with allied military action if it denies access to UN weapons inspection teams.

The latest team left Iraq Tuesday, but other negotiators immedi-

ately began pressing Iraqi officials to permit UN workers the freedom of action necessary to continue humamitarian projects.

Attacks on aid workers and UN guards multiplied, however. 'A Swedish UN guard was evacuated to Baghdad and was later flown out of the country after being shot in northern Iraq, the latest victim in a series of assaults on the guards and other UN officials.

In another assault, a grenade was tossed at a house where three Danish UN guards were staying in northern Iraq. No one was burt.

The Kurds blamed the Baghdad government for the attacks. The government blamed Kurdish guerrillas, saying they were trying to aircraft and two in-flight refueling complicate problems between Iraq aircraft to help police the "no fly- and the United Nations.

The plight of the Shiites and Iraq's refusal to renew a memorandum of understanding to permit relief workers access to Iraqi civilians are key issues of negotiations started Tuesday in Baghdad under Jan Eliasson, head of the UN emergency aid program.

American officials say they see Mr. Eliasson's mission as decisive in determining whether force will again be used against Mr. Saddam.

The agreement, which expired at the end of June, brought 500 UN guards to Iraq to safeguard the rebef efforts. The programs are primarily in the north, where a safe haven was established for Kurds after a Kurdish rebellion at the end of the Guif War.

(Reuters, AP, WP, AFP, NYT)



once-a-week Dixieland jazz jam session. He plays the clarinet.

AINU: A Quixotic Campaign for a Refuge in Kurils

(Continued from page 1) selling crafts from an Ainn "village" on the eastern end of the

Only a tiny number of those Ainu are full-blooded, and a fraction speak the unwritten Ainu language and know the culture, built around rites like bear honts and salmon fishing, both of which are now banned.

Mr. Toyooka says he is convinced that there are many more people with at least some Ainu blood, but that they deny it to avoid discrimination

For instance, three times as many Ainn require some form of government assistance as Japanese on Hokkaido. And while 8 percent of the Ainu get university educa-tions, about 27 percent of the overall Hokkaido population does, Many Ainu are day laborers and have a much lower standard of living than their Japanese neighbors.

Officially, the government maintains that discrimination ended of the maintains of the maintain that discrimination ended of the maintain of the maintain the political system. with the promulgation of the post-

Masao Morimoto, chairman of the board of governors of Hokkai Gakuen University and head of a commission advising the prefectur-al government on Ainu issues, insists that the Ainu need help, but only so they can take advantage of the opportunities available to all.

"They might have suffered some discrimination before, but since the war the constitution guarantees their human rights," Mr. Morimoto said. "They have the same opportunities as anyone else. It's up to them to take advantage of those."

Mr. Morimoto's commission has proposed a series of new laws to provide more financial assistance their culture. He also firmly backs from Ainu songs.

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up on the Japanese political system, which is why he wants to form an autonomous region oo the northern islands.

"Running for their offices just means political assimilation," he said. "The Japanese don't take us seriously. That won't change. Some of those people may want to pre-serve and study Ainu culture, but that would mean it would end up in a moseum, not survive as a living

So Mr. Toyooka channels his efforts into helping save the Ainu language, in part by taping video lessons. He has also worked with a friend, Fusae Doi, who is involved in a group that promotes Ainu handicrafts, to write and perform to the Ainn and help them preserve modern jazz that uses rhythms dre Previn.

As His Case Deepens Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches press at which he declined to an-

NEW YORK — Connecticut swer questions. Mr. Allen, who is involved in a child custody dispute with Ms. Far-

> or if a child informs a doctor of abuse, or if in the course of an examination the doctor gets any inkling of abuse, he is required, by state law, to report the case to the state Child Protection Bureau. Cit-

yers would issue a statement.

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state police said Tuesday that they had launched a criminal investigarow, said his lawyers told him that tion against Woody Allen, but they her attorneys had asked for \$7 milwould oot confirm a lawyer's allelion and offered to drop the allegagation that it involved child abuse. tions against him in exchange for The guarded statement from the the payment. police followed the revelation that At the public information office the filmmaker, 56, was having a love affair with the 21-year-old of the state police, a trooper, Debadopted daughter of Mia Farrow. bie Roy, confirmed that there was a criminal investigation involving-47, his companion and leading lady Mr. Allen but said that no charges had been filed. She declined to give for the last dozen years. A lawyer for Ms. Farrow, Alan any more information or to charac-M. Dershowitz, said the Connectiterize the investigation any further. cut case concerned the suspicion of After hearing that the police had confirmed an investigation, Mr. sexual abuse of another of Ms. Farrow's children. She has a home in Dershowitz said it had been Bridgewater, Connecticut. spurred by a doctor who, after ex-Allen emerged from seclusion amining the child two weeks ago, reported the results of his examinabriefly Tuesday to deny that he had abused one of Ms. Farrow's adopted children. "These totally false tion to the authorities. Mr. Dershowitz is a Harvard law proand outrageous allegations have fessor whose cases have involved such highly publicized clients as the hotelier Leona Helmsley and the sickened me so I felt that, for the sake of all my three children, I must try and remove them from an atboxer Mike Tyson. mosphere so unhealthy it can sure-The doctor, Vadakkekara Kavirly leave irreparable scars," Mr. Alaian of New Milford, Connecticut, len said at a brief session with the is the regular physician for Ma. Farrow's children. He would not comment other than to say that if a parent makes a complaint of abuse.

Woody Allen Denies

Child Abuse Charge

ing the welfare of the child, Dr. Kavirajan would not confirm having made such a report in this case. A spokeswoman for Mr. Allen, Leslee Dart, said: "Anybody who wants to can make a complaint, whether false or not false, and the police have to investigate." She declined to comment on whether Mr. Allen was the subject of a child sexual-ahuse investigation and added that Mr. Allen and his law-

Mr. Allen confirmed Monday that he was romantically involved with Soon-Yi Farrow Previn, whom Ms. Farrow adopted during her marriage to the conductor An-

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charge of the executive microphone is to take old ideas that are good ideas and make them sound like interesting and valid ideas," she

coming up with oew tax and budget proposals suggests the potential limits of the new conservative agenda he is embracing. While Americans are worried about education and health care, what most hold against Mr. Bush is economic stagnation. Politically, the "conserva-tive reform agenda" will be suc-cessful only if it is linked to a sense that Mr. Bush can take hold of the

economy and promote growth. Still, many Republicans are mount 24-hour air patrols in the heartened that Mr. Bush now exclusion zone. He said that the seems willing to throw his energies aircraft would be "flying and moni-

dermining this cause. "You can turn off the sound and look at his face and know if he's talking about foreign policy or do-mestic affairs," she said. "I guess

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century - not a minute too soon when you consider how little of that century we have left. This means that opera has shed its ro-mantic illusions without losing its historic penchant for fantasy.

It has added a strong dose of psychiatry to its basic mix, developed a taste for gossip about public figures and become politicized. And in the primal tradition of op-And in the primal tradition of opera — or art in general as opposed to reportage — it uses facts but it does not feel limited to them. Handel's and Verdi's operas often put

On 'The Street

Of Crocodiles'

By Sheridan Morley

more traditional Sloane Square concerns with April De Angelis's "Hash," in which the death of socialism and the 1980s' loss of faith are debated by the usual selection

True, one of the characters here thinks he

is a dog, barking his way around the stage in

THE BRITISH STAGE

a canine plea for attention, but as nearly all

others have also been washed up either

literally or metaphorically, on the beaches of rapid social and political change, his

pleas for charitable treatment are apt to be

De Angelis, who comes in from the fringe

ng of one of their number, who disap-

for this first main-house play, has gathered her group of 1980s mistis to mourn the

peared mysteriously at sea a year before. Her sister and a failed novelist who was once acclaimed for "a refreshing study of

famine" are left to pick up Jo's pieces,

including her teenage daughter, who is alienated enough to take up with the Dog-

boy on the beach small he too tries to come in from the new cold.

By Joseph McLellan Washington Post Service

of being a news maker in the late

20th century: You may find your-

self featured not only on the eve-

ning news but in the local opera

pect to see the next step: an opera composer such by someone he has

And sooner or later, we can ex-

Time was when opera dealt only

in people who were mythical or, at least, safely dead; no danger of Wotan suing Wagner for defama-tion or Mcphistopheles complain-

ing to Geraldo that "Gounod just

Consider, for example, "X," in which Malcolm Little is converted

to the Nation of Islam, becomes

Malcolm X, rises to a position of leadership, breaks with Elijah Mo-

hammed and dies in a hail of assas-

Whatever happened to those

comfortable old operas, full of nice tunes, about love and tuberculosis

in a 19th-century Paris garret? Or

the problems facing true love when

the soprano's and tenor's families are sworn enemies? Or about lech-

ery and vengeance at the court of Mantua in the Renaissance?

house as well.

sins' bullets.

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ASHINGTON - A

new complication has been added to the al-

ready-arduous work

of Chelsea mourners.

counterproductive,

ational Herald Tribune

ONDON — After the triumphs of "Six Degrees of Separation" and "Death and the Maiden,"

the Royal Court returns to its

Ben Holt singing the lead role in a scene from "X." What has happened, I think, is historic characters into fictional that opera has entered the 20th situations.

"The Street of Crocodiles," based on short stories by Bruno Schulz and directed by Simon McBurney, at the Cottesloe Theatre.

ward Bond to David Hare, and her play

therefore lurches from the occasionally

surreal to the more traditional Guardian

complaints about a society that has lost its

capability for sympany or analysis with underdogs. But "Hush" reads better

than it plays, and not even Max Stafford-Clark's fluid production can disguise the

fact that we have several intriguing charac-ters here in search of an anthor who can

frame them into something more coherent.
The measy truth is that plays about Britain in the '80s have dated as fast as the

instant biographies of Lady Thatcher, and that the Court might do better to stick to

After their uncharacteristic but splen-

did lurch into linear, conventional theatri-

cal storytelling with last year's "The Vis-it," the Theatre de Complicité troupe is back at the National Theatre and to their

more traditional form with the largely un-fathomable "The Street of Crocodiles" at

This would appear to be a salute to

Bruno Schulz, the Jewish Polish writer who

was arrested and killed by the Nazis around the time of his 50th birthday in 1942, and

were his life or writing more generally known here, then this circuitous and side-

long look at it might have worked very well.

As it is however, the sight of the troupe's players clambering vertically down walls or

emerging from shrunken garbage cans is inclined to get in the way of any real under-

its new-found internationalism.

standing of who Sheltz was or why we

should want to get to know his work.
On a stage full of disorienting, disturbing, absurdist images certain themes do

emerge: Schulz seems to have been indebt-

ed to Alphonse Allais and Franz Kafka in

roughly equal measure for a mix of ab-surdist fantasy and complex nightmares that are brought to historical reality with

chilling effect when we hear the approach

Grosz and the Marx Brothers are also

omewhat present in an adaptation and

production by Simon McBurney that is

full of sound and fury but signifies not a

lot, except I would guess to experts on Schulz who may well welcome this briskly

mimed, menacing gallop through his tales

played ont, when language is needed, in bursts of German and Polish on the bor-

derline where dreams become nightmares

The result is absurdist, minimalist and

haunting, but also a reminder that there

are times - and this is one of them -

when the linear conventions of a biograph-

Something seems to have gone curiously

ical plot would have been very welcome.

adrift with the Peter Wood staging of "She

Stoops to Conquer," which closes this year's festival at Chichester, and I do not

simply refer to the member of the audience

who, on the night I was there, wandered

beamsedly around the stage presumably in

With a cast headed by Denis Onilley

search of an exit.

of Occupation and invasion.

of jackboots at the door.

Similarly, in his notes to the re-cording of "The Manson Family" (Point-Philips), composer John Moran says he made no attempt to be complete, objective or accurate; the characters are used "to express something larger than the events of 1969." It is, be says, "all very sub-jective, and really speaks more about the author than his subject."

Biko, commissioned by the Royal Opera House, about the black South African activist Steve Biko, who died in police custody 15 years

Operas about Cleopatra are fine but it will be easier to sell tickets for one about Marilyn Monroe if that long-contemplated project of the Washington Opera ever becomes a

Marilyn is no longer current news, of course. Neither is Mahat-ma Gandhi, whose invention of ma Gandhi, whose invention of nonviolent political action is the subject of Philip Glass's "Satyagra-ha." Or Huey Long, the thinly dis-guised subject of Carlisle Floyd's "Willie Stark," which is based on Robert Penn Warren's novel "All the King's Men." But all are a part of living memory and some are a of living memory and some are a serious challenge to the widespread opinion that opera has to be about people who are either imaginary or dead for a long time.

with a scratch company is evidently not enough in which to impose any kind of overall style. Singing the News: Operas for Our Times set to music. Today, it's what we Now it's a free-for-all: not only see on the 10 o'clock news. This kind of thing seems to be occurring with special intensity in American opera, but it is an intensity in national phenomenon. Michael Nimon of Phenomenon. Michael world has let them down (mails of other psychological anomalies (the man who mistook his wife for a hat), for the way the

and Jean Boht, as the country couple farci-

cally mistaken for innkeepers by their pro-spective son-in-law, this should have been

a vintage revival of the Goldsmith classic

ideally suited to Chichester in its museum

mood. But Wood has, very unusually,

been unable to impose any overall playing

style on his troupe, and the cast therefore lurches uneasily from one comic conven-

tion to another, apparently uncertain which one will best suit the action.

Iain Glen and Susannah Harker are little more than charming as the eventual

lovers, Jonathon Morris is an irredeem-

ably modern Tony Lumpkin, and Quilley

and Bobt are both so benign as the parents that it is very hard for the production to

achieve any real tension of mistaken iden-

there is apt to be very little cause for

drama; and despite the elaborate period

staging (shot birds fall to the stage com-

plete with flurries of feathers), the compa-

ny does not seem to have worked out quite

is in productions like this that one sudden-

ly yearns for the return of a permanent

acting ensemble such as was available to

Wood and other directors in the earliest

days of Olivier's National company at

Chichester: Four weeks or so of rehearsal

hich period they should be re-creating. It

tity or prospective marital mishap. If everyone is as vaguely amiable as in the Chichester foyer bar at the interval,

national phenomenon. Michael
Nyman of Britain composed "The
Man Who Mistook His Wife for a
Hat," in which a case history of
brain dysfunction from a psychologist's notebook is set to music. Also
in Britain, the Indian-born composer Priti Paintal has written
"Biko," commissioned by the Royprovoke extreme emotional states
— which is what opera has always really been about.

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A Cult Figure Goes Video

Celibidache, at 80, Changes His Tune on Recording

By John Rockwell New York Times Service

STAGE/ENTERTAINMENT

ARIS — Most of us try to judge artists by their work not their personalities, But what to do about a conductor who professes the noblest and most mystical ideals yet acts like a tyrant, presents the public image of a snake-oil huckster and seems now to have betrayed a lifelong credo of opposition to recordings?

In other words, how does one respond to the Romanian conduc-tor Sergiu Celibidache? After a strange and erratic career spent bouncing from second-rate orchestra to second-rate orchestra. Celibidache, who recently turned 80, has finally settled in Munich, where he leads yet another second-rate orchestra, the Munich Philharmonic.

There, now that Herbert von Karajan, Leonard Bernstein and other cult competitors have died, Celibi-

And what in particular does one make of his latest recording? For 40 years, Celibidache damned the medium and swore he would never deign to subject the pure spontaneity of his music-making to such artificial treatment. Yet the recording in question, a 12-inch laser video disk of rehearsals and a performance of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony (Teldec), is intended as the first in a ing line of Celibidache documents on Teldec.

During the late 1930s and World War II, Celibidache studied music in Berlin. After the war he was plucked from obscurity by the Al-lies and made chief conductor of

back at the helm in 1948, Celibidache began his odyssey through radio symphony orchestras in cities like Stuttgart and Stockholm. (He did have a relationship 1970s, and made an emotional return to the Berlin Philharmonic this spring.) In 1979, he took over the Munich Philharmonic, the city's second orchestra, behind the Bavarian Radio Symphony (or possibly its fascinating to hear a single score third, behind the Bavarian Staatska-

pelle, which plays mostly opera).
Today, Celibidache concerts in
the Philharmooic's shiny new hall, the Gasteig, are a cult phenomenon that leaves wizened musical veterans bemused. In early June, before the that offered not one but two cult heroes, with Arturo Benedetti Mi-

in the lobby approached hysteria.

People stood everywhere, holding imploring signs or buttonholing passersby in search of spare tickets A shoving mob at the box office muscled for position to be told, periodically, that nothing was

Inside, the program of Rossini Mozart and Ravel provided the typical mix of a merely decent orchestra playing at the top of its form. Michelangeli, when he had finished the Ravel Concerto in G, offered - "as a birthday tribute to the maestro," it was announced -

15 ravishing minutes of solo Ravel. Since making a few recordings in the late '40s, Celibidache has Buddhist, he believes in the divine spontaneity of the moment, has ventured various explanations for



Sergiu Celibidache: A lifelong belief in spontaneity.

his boycott of recordings, most sug- evolving into his vision. Here the gesting that to capture one particular musical event, frozen in time and cut off from context, is to distort music cruelly.

Cynics argue that by dispensing with microphones, Celibidache has merely fanned the flame of his cult and avoided possibly barsh com-

In any case, the Prokofiev disk is the Berlin Philharmonic while Wil-helm Furtwangler struggled to "de-cal" Symphony might seem an odd choice of repertory, but Celibi-dache has long favored lightish-ITH Furtwangler classical scores with a certain verve, which he can refine, or embalm,

into masterpiece status.

The Teldec disk was made, or at least copyrighted, in 1988. The rehearsal segments were apparently drawn from the first run-through of with the London Symphony in the each movement. This narrow selection seems odd, since the entire program, less than an hour long, takes only one side of a laser disk. Celibidache is famous for his pro-

es up the music in little dramatic scenarios and dispenses musicological insights. None of it reveals much. What is especially not revealed is

conductor, working from memory, hums to make his interpretive

points, jokes heavy-handedly, dress-

how Celibidache gets from the rough, gritty playing heard in the rehearsal excerpts to the polished performance (which the musicians play in street clothes, with no audience). Doubters will complain about the slow tempos of the first three movements (the fourth is more conventional), but the beanty Celibidache elicits and his "love for detail," as he calls it in an aside, are truly worthy of cult devotion.

This disk offers the greatest contrast imaginable between the dross of rehearsal and the glitter of performance - from lead to alchemically transmuted gold. Like some Renaissance scientist-priest-magitracted rehearsal, and it would be cian, Celibadache guards his secrets, theatrically.

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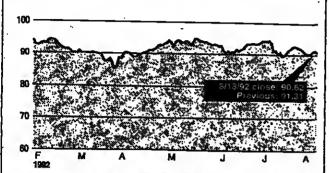
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Energy	96.99	96.41	+0.60	Capital Goods	96.20	97.20	-1.03
Utilities	84,19	84.83	-0.75	Raw Materials	99.04	99.63	-0.59
Finance	71.62	73.16	-2.10	Consumer Goods	98.00	98.23	-0.23
Services	98,83	99.66	-0.63	Miscellaneous	102.52	102.56	-0.04

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MEDIA MARKETS

Elle Colors Its New Look With a Splash of Sober

By Geraldine Fabrikant New York Times Service

EW YORK—Gilles Bensimon, the 48-year-old creative director of Elle, is surprisingly blunt about the fashion magazine's recent troubles. "Elle got to be boring," he said quietly in a heavy French accent, leaning back in a black leather sofa at Hachette Magazines' headquarters in Manhattain. "Our articles are going to be more deep."

That is quite an indictment coming from a man who has worked at Elle since it burst on the 'American scene in 1985 by being spunkier than Vogue, putting high fashion with street fashion and emphasizing faces rather than outfit-clad figures.

But if earnings and crucial newsstand sales are any indication,

But if earnings and crucial newsstand sales are any indication,

Mr. Bensimon knows what he is talking about Profits of the Sometimes you want American version of Hachette to be more gray and

A's popular French magazine to be may akidded since 1989.

The timing of Elle's slide beinge. could not be worse. On Aug. 25, Hearst Corp. is scheduled to in-

roduce an updated Harper's Bazaar, younger and hipper and toming in on Elle's territory. And Vogne, published by Conde Nast, still dominates the market.

Elle swept on the scene in November 1985 with a slew of young, kevil-may-care models. They were often photographed close up, with more emphasis on their faces and accessories than on the raditional outfits that were the standard fare of Vogue and larger's Bazzar. Colors were hot. There was the pink section, the

larper's Bazaar. Colors were hot. There was the pink section, the rellow section, the red section.

As Mr. Bensimon said: "Before we had visual shock. Now slowly the want to be more realistic." Examples include the September stue's article on abortion, which might not have appeared in earlier stues, and the conservative September cover, with the model landia Schiffer in black, gray and white. "Sometimes you want to se more gray and beige, not show off at all." Mr. Bensimon said. By 1989, Elle's circulation had soared to \$26,000 from 600,775 at be end of 1986, challenging Vogne's dominance in the field, with a inculation of 1.2 million. The magazine ran 2,321 ad pages in 1989. But readers can be fickle about fashion magazines. No sooner and the magazine peaked than ad pages began to slide and news-

and the magazine peaked than ad pages began to slide and news-tand sales, a key indicator of reader enthusiasm, dived.

The decline stemmed partly from the recession. Advertising in The fell 28 percent between 1989 and 1991, to 1,764 pages. In the ame period, Vogue's dropped 24 percent.

British Accounts: Toeing the Line?

By Erik Ipsen International Berald Tribune

LONDON — Long-simmering disaffection with the flexible standards of British accounting has shocked nearly everyone by bursting forth as a hot issue here. Following a new book written by a respected analyst for a leading

London brokerage and his employer's attempts to have publication halted, finance directors at some of Britain's largest companies find themselves at pains to deny they have exercised undue creativity. "If you think accounting is important to the functioning of the financial markets, then, yes, we are in bad shape," said Michael Power, a professor of accounting at the London School of Economics.

The problem is that British accounting standards, by nearly everyone's reckoning, allow corporations so much flexibility in preparing their accounts as to render them at best potentially sleading. "We still have a lot of practices available to companie that, shall we say, are quite helpful to them in reporting good profits," said Peter Holgate, a partner at Coopers & Lybrand.

All this was of little more than academic interest until the recession dug its claws into the fiber of corporate Britain. Since then, companies that reported healthy profit growth one week have filed

In the process, the reputations of the bankrupt companies' outside auditors and of the analysts who follow their securities have suffered. Suits against auditors, once a rarriy, have become commonplace. And as their numbers have swollen, so too has the size of the claims, which now reach into the billions of pounds.

"If a company is growing, poor accounts make little difference said James Carty, a partner at the auditor Robson Rhodes. He pointed out that in a recession "real profits" are hard to come by and companies "run out of cash" and are forced into bankruptcy.

As the recession drags on and the corporate wreckage mounts, the debate over company accounts has turned nasty. All parties concerned now routinely fault each other for their failure to flag such

The collapse of Polly Peck International PLC two years ago, once the darling of the London Stock Exchange, is a case in point. "If they had had to follow U.S. accounting practices, Polly Peck's problems would have been seen years earlier." Mr. Rhodes said.

In the latest flap, Terry Smith, head of research at UBS Phillips &

See ACCOUNTING, Page 11

Germany Expects 4 Steady Years

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BONN - The German government provided a generally upbeat assessment of the outlook for Europe's largest economy on Tuesday, saying that it expected steady economic growth and modest inflation over the next four years. But the report by the Economics Ministry also said there was fittle prospect of memployment in the formerly communist East Germany falling from current high levels despite massive

government investment in the region.

Meanwhile, the Bundesbank underscored its commitment to low inflation, saying it would continue to aim toward a medium-term infla-

tion rate of 2 percent.

The central bank said in its latest monthly report that the fact that Western Germany's inflation dropped to an annual 3.3 percent rate in July from 4.3 percent in June, was no reason for emphoria. That slowdown was largely a statistical quirk caused by tax rises last sum-

mer, the Bundesbank said.

figures published last month showing that M-3, the bank's major barometer of money supply growth and an indicator of inflationary pressures, had risen in June at an annualized rate of

8.7 percent from the fourth quarter of 1991.

So far this year, all M-3 figures have far exceeded the Bundesbank's 1992 growth target range of 3.5 percent to 5.5 percent set in De-

The Economics Ministry report said that annual inflation in Western Germany should average 3.5 percent in the next four years. It forecast Western Germany's gross national product would grow by an average of 2.5 per-cent per year from 1992 to 1996, while growth

in the East should average 9 percent.

The ministry acknowledged that its forecasts were based on optimistic assumptions about the German and world economy. The basis of the medium-term projection is the assumption that we will succeed through joint efforts in

growth seen in the last nine years."

The ministry's optimism contrasted with re cent comments from private economists, who have interpreted rising unemployment and falls in both industrial couput and retail sales as evidence that the German economy was flagging. But the government was supported by the Federation of German Banks, which said in its

monthly economic report that an upswing in the foreseeable future could not be ruled out. "There are certainly factors which speak for a positive development," it said, citing the sound

inancial position of German companies and their investment in modern plant.

The Economies Ministry said growth and higher productivity should create up to 1.5 million new jobs in Western Germany.

The ministry said a clear pick-up in the economy of Eastern Germany should be apparent by 1996 but high wages in the region were hampering job creation. (Reuter, AFP, Bloomberg)

Chrysler Gets Reprieve from 152 Banks

DETROIT — Chrysler Corp. succeeded Tuesday in refinancing \$6.8 billion of debt with a syndicate of 152 banks, giving the automaker a chance to achieve financial health in return for more onerous borrowing requirements than it previously faced.

Chrysler said its financing subsidiary faced more restrictive conditions and higher interest rates on the three-year deal than in the past. As expected, the new agreement between Chrysler Financial Corp. and the banks would reduce the current level of lending commitments by about \$2 billion over time, the automaker said.

The agreement was crucial to Chrysler because the below-investment-grade ratings of Chrysler Financial hampered the carmaker's ability to raise money to provide financing for dealers.

The agreement replaced a loan to Chrysler Finance that was to come due by April. The banks belonged to a consortium that has been lending to Chrysler for about four years. The interest rate and charges on the new agreement were significantly higher than in the old one. reflecting perceptions that the company posed a higher risk because of the recession and its fragile financial condition.

If unanimous agreement had not been reached by the end of the week, the automaker

and its lead banks, Chemical Banking Corp. and Swiss Bank Corp., would have been forced to start negotiations all over.

In recent weeks, Chrysler even solicited the help of the Federal Reserve Board to persuade German central bankers to use their influence on German banks that were holding out. Negotiating such loans has been routine in

the past, but the process has been clouded by Chrysler's thin financial resources and regula-tory pressure on banks.

Among the big question marks on Chrysler's books is a \$4 billion unfunded liability for employees' pensions. The automaker has asserted that an array of new models and higher demand for vehicles would allow it to pay off the liability over 10 years

Low ratings on Chrysler's debt securities have made it prohibitively expensive for the company to raise money in the public bond markets. Several U.S. banks initially resisted participation in the loan but pressure to join the Chrysler syndicate has been heavy because the fate of the company could be at stake.

Chrysler's share price slipped 12.5 cents, to \$21.125, on the New York Stock Exchange.

(AP. Bloomberg, NYT)

U.S. Housing Starts Decline

ing starts fell for the second straight month in July, despite lownomic recovery remained on track. the West. The unexpected 2.8 percent drop

in housing starts, to a seasonally units, followed a 3.8 percent drop in July 1991.
in June. Economists had forecast a The Federa

 But building permits, a barometer of future housing activity, reversed four months of declines, rising 3.7 percent in July, to an annual rate of 1.07 million. June and July were exceptionally

rainy months in the United States, which hurt construction activity.

roblem - a rice shortage.

Eurocurrency Deposits

And It's Inconvenient

By Andrew Pollack

New York Times Service

TOKYO — At a time when it is resisting international calls to open its market to imports of rice, Japan has an embarrassing

protein — a nee shortage.

The shortage, while not affecting consumers much, has more than doubled the prices being paid for rice by Japanese makers of rice crackers, miso, sake and other foods and beverages. And these companies, which have a much greater financial interest in the price of rice than consumers do, are beginning to think the once unthinkable: Maybe imports should be allowed.

The situation is posing a quandary for the government, potentially pitting the interests of the traditional Japanese rice farmers against those of the equally traditional sake brewers and makers of rice cakes.

Anxious to keep these food processors from becoming the hole in the dike that has protected Japan's rice farmers, the Agriculture Ministry is quietly preparing an emergency allocation of 30,000 tons of high-quality rice from its stockpiles, which will be sold to food processors at bargain prices in hopes of tiding them over until the next harvest this fall.

"We need to avoid the situation that the user industry gets into trouble," said Hiroshi Tsuchiya, chief of the paddy farming section at the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, the powerful organization that plays a central role in promoting rice farming and distributing farm output in Japan.

The situation is an assumable of the measurement that I

The situation is an example of the maneuvers that Japan must make to hold together its closed rice market at a time when the system is coming under pressure not only from other nations that

See RICE, Page 13

Compiled by Our Staff From Disputches the early 1970s, and that may be ne-WASHINGTON — U.S. hous-fit builders in coming months.

The falloff in July construction was widespread, with only the er interest rates, but Treasury Sec- South reporting a slight rise in retary Nicholas F. Brady said he housing starts. Activity weakened remained confident that the eco- in the Northeast, the Midwest and

But overall, the July starts level was 10.2 percent higher than the adjusted annual rate of 1.12 million annual rate of 971,000 units begun The Federal Home Loan Mort-

slight increase in July construction gage Corp. said last week the average interest rate for a 30-year mortgage had dropped to 7.96 percents lowest in nearly two decades.

In Houston, Mr. Brady said he expected economic growth in the second half to surpass the 2 percent rate of the first half. Mr. Brady told the Maryland

delegation to the Republican Na-But interest rates for home mort-tional Convention that U.S. eco-

that the stage was being set for a solid upswing in the coming years.

Citing low interest rates and inflation plus high productivity, the treasury secretary said 1993 and 1994 were going to be "outstanding

He said the United States must adopt "intelligent" economic stimulus measures, such as a cut in the capital gains tax. But more impor-tant than that, he said was reducing the budget deficit.

Ciments Français Stock Sale Flops

PARIS - Compagnie Financière de Paribas said Tuesday that the issue of 12.5 million new preference shares in Société des Ciments Français last month was badly received by the market.

A Paribas executive said that the firm would certainly end up with more than the 20 percent stake in Ciments Français that it planned to hold following the operation.

The official blamed "awful market conditions." The subscription period for the new shares, aimed at generating a net 4.75 billion francs (\$957 million) in Ciments Français capital, was July 9 to 29, a period when the Paris Bourse's CAC-40 index fell 2.5 percent.

Paribas and Mediobanca SpA of Italy each guaranteed half of the issue, the Paribas executive said. It had been planned that after the capital increase, Ciments Français would be held 30 percent by Italcementi; 15 percent by a holding company owned two-thirds by Italcementi and one-third by Polict, a Paribas unit; 15 percent by Polict, 5 percent by Mediobanca and 35 percent by the public.

Paribas's total indirect stake in Ciments Francais, therefore, had been forecast to be 20 percent.
"We will certainly end up with more than 20 percent," the executive said.

An Italian newspaper reported this month that Mediobanca had 13.26 percent of Ciments Fran-çais, 8.26 percent above the level the bank had

OUTSTANDING PERSONAL SERVICE. gages are at their lowest levels since nomic growth was slower than the TODAY THEY FIND IT WITH US. Japan's Short of Rice



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uring the Renaissance, trusted advisors helped administer the finances and protect the interests of private individuals. The role demanded judgement, commitment and skill.

Today, clients find that same personal service at Republic National Bank. We believe that banking is more about people than numbers. It's about the shared values and

common goals that forge strong bonds between banker and client. It's also about building for the future, keeping assets secure for the generations to come. This client focus has con-

tributed to our leading position in private banking. We're a subsidiary of Safra Republic Holdings S.A., with US\$1.1 billion in total capital. The group's client assets have

grown 400% in the past four years and now exceed US\$8 billion.

All banks in the group are locally managed, attuned to the language and culture of their customers. They share a philosophy that emphasizes lasting relationships and mutual trust. Those values were once the foundation of banking. At Republic, they have been and always will be.

Aug. 18

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U.S. dollars per ounce. London official fix-



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CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES

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Election Concerns Weigh on Stocks

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches NEW YORK - U.S. stocks ended slightly higher Tuesday, propped up by a mild raily in the bond market.

But the focus of trading was on whether President George Bush will be able to revive his stumbling

N.Y. Stocks

re-election campaign, traders said. "The market is on edge," said Hugh Johnson, chief investment strategist at First Albany Corp. "Everybody is waiting to see whether Bush has anything left in him, and we won't find that out until Thursday night when he speaks at the convention."

The Dow Jones industrial average rose 4.59, to 3,329.48, while advancing common stocks outnumbered declining issues by a 7-6 ratio on the New York Stock Exchange. Volume rose to 171.50 million shares from 152 million on Monday.

Stocks received a boost from a rebound in Treasury bond prices, which followed news that U.S. housing starts fell 2.8 percent in July. The report prompted some concern about the strength of the economic

bond prices, traders said.

The yield on the 30-year benchmark bond slipped to 7.33 percent from 7.35 percent on Monday. Concern about tension in the Middle East is burting stocks, traders said. Britain announced plans on Tuesday to deploy Royal Air Force fighter planes to end attacks on Shiite Muslim inhabitants in southern

Iraq. The United States and France are expected to join the operation, according to press reports. Kroger, the most actively traded issue on the New York Stock Exchange, fell 2, to 111/2, after it said it

expected to report break-even results in its third financial quarter. Toys 'R' Us rose 11/2, to 381/2, after reporting higher-than-expect-ed second-quarter earnings.

American Exploration led the American Stock Exchange actives,

up ¼ at 2¼, after saying its joint venture with Texaco discovered oil at its exploration well in Tunisia. Medco Containment led the over-the-counter actives, up 14 at 29%, rebounding from Monday's sharp loss after announcing it would acquire American Biodyne in a stock-swap deal valued at \$121 (Bloomberg, UPI)

Rate Differentials Push **Dollar Near Mark Low**

NEW YORK — The dollar fell discount rate to record levels last month. It said inflation risks were all-time low against the Deutsche worse because price trends had not mark after the Bundesbank stiff-changed significantly. ened its hard-line monetary stance and weak U.S. economic data spurred speculation of a rate cut.

Traders said only the threat of

central bank intervention was Foreign Exchange

keeping the dollar off its low against the German currency. There's a fair chance the Bundesbank may tighten again and a good chance the Fed will ease," said David Kern, chief economist at National Westminster Bank in London. "That's hardly a recom-mendation for holding dollars."

By the close in New York the dollar had subsided to 1.4575 DM from 1.4645 DM at Monday's close. The currency's low against the mark was set on Feb. 11, 1991, at 1.4430 DM.

The dollar fell against the Swiss franc, to 1,3065 from 1,3165, and against the French franc, to 4,9440 from 4.9625. The pound rose to \$1.931 from \$1.9250. But the dollar gained on the yen, due to a sharp fall in Japanese stock prices, to 126.17 yen from 125.80.

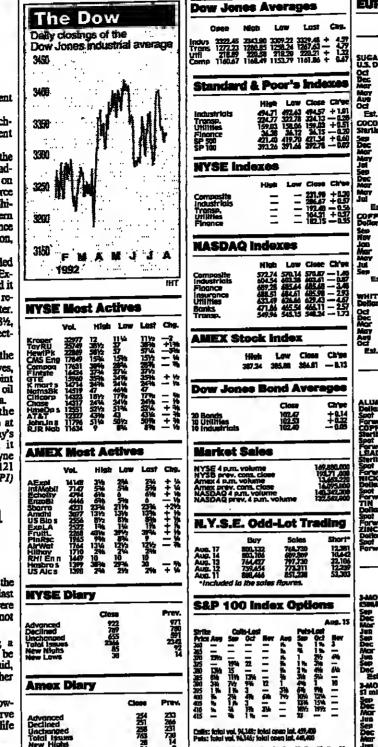
In what one U.S. investment bank ance sheets. trader in London called "probably its most strongly worded monthly report this year," the Bundesbank

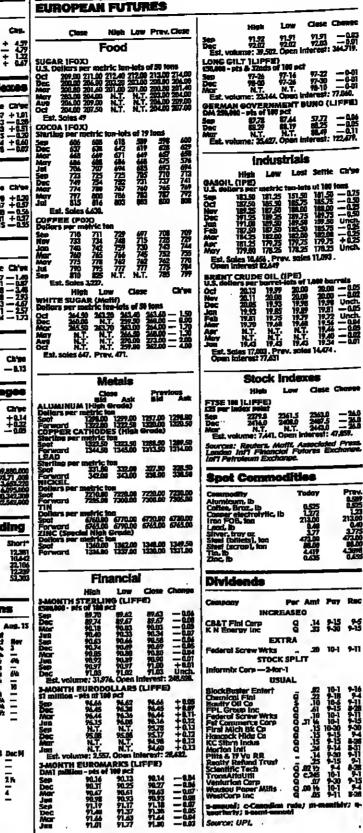
defended its decision to raise the

"While we're not expecting Lombard rise, clearly it cannot be ruled out now." Mr. Kern said, referring to the Bundesbank's other key lending rate.

Meanwhile, speculation is growing daily that the Federal Reserve Board will cut rates to pump life into the flagging U.S. recovery.

Tuesday's data supported the easing argument, with July housing starts falling 2.8 percent to 1.119 million units. "The lower housing starts show lower rates are not providing good relief," said Tom Benfer of Bank of Montreal in New York.





U.S. / AT THE CLOSE

Bergen Brunswig Sweetens Offer

ORANGE, California (UPI) — Bergen Brunswig Corp. sweetened its
offer Tuesday for Durr-Fillauer Medical Inc. to about \$402 million in
offer Tuesday for Durr-Fillauer Medical Inc. to about \$402 million in
cash from \$317 million, topping a pending \$375 million stock-swap deal
from Cardinal Distribution Co.
Bergen Brunswig a pharmaceuticals distributes based in Orange has

From Cardinal Distribution Co.

Bergen Brunswig, a pharmaceuticals distributor based in Orange, has been locked in a bidding war with Cardinal, a wholesale distributor of pharmaceuticals and health-care products for Durr-Fillauer.

FoxMeyer, Gibson Hit by Phar-Mor

DALLAS (UPI) — FoxMeyer Corp. said Tuesday that Phar-Mor Inc., which has sought bankruptcy court protection and accounted for 16 percent of its latest quarterly sales, owes it \$74 million.

For Meyer said it may take a one-time charge because of the level of the

FoxMeyer said it may take a one-time charge because of the level of the receivables from Phar-Mor, a discount drug retailer that filed for Chapter

11 protection on Monday.
Separately, in Cincinnati, Gibson Greetings Inc. said Phar-Mor's filing could hurt earnings. Gibson said Phar-Mor accounted for 13 percent ut revenue in 1991.

Compaq Acknowledges Shortages

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — Compaq Computer Corp. said Tuesday in a filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission that it expected in a filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission that its third-quarter revenue and profit to be hurt by parts shortages for some

Compaq introduced several notebook, desktop and server products in June and said that the initial response has been "excellent," but it said shortenes applied limit is a billion of the control of the c shortages would limit its ability to meet demand.

Hewlett-Packard Earnings Slip 1%

PALO ALTO, California (Bloomberg) — Hewlett-Packard Co. reported Tuesday that earnings for the fiscal third quarter, ended July 31, slipped 1 percent from a year earlier to \$191 million, or 76 cents a share. Sales rose 15 percent, to \$4 billion. Hewlett-Packard stock slumped \$3.50 a share, to \$57.125 in late trading on the New York Stock Exchange.

Continental Air Gets Filing Extension WILMINGTON, Delaware (Bloomberg) — A federal bankrupte)

will MINGIUN, Delaware (Bloomberg) — A rederal dankrupte)
judge granted Continental Airlines a 45-day extension Tuesday to file a
reorganization plan without competition from other proposals.

Judge Helen Baikck extended the airline's exclusivity period until Oct. 2
but said lawyers should "get off their duffs" and put together a plan.

Bally to Exchange Assets for Debt

CHICAGO (AP) — Bally Manufacturing Corp. said Tuesday that it.
and its debt-ridden subsidiary, Bally's Grand Inc., have agreed with
bondholders on a plan to exchange assets in the subsidiary after it is reorganized for current notes. Bally's Grand, the subsidiary that ran casinos in Las Vegas and Reno.

Nevada, is operating under Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection from creditors. It sold the Reno casino to Hilton Hotels Corp. for \$83 million. in June after a bankruptcy court auction.

The agreement would buy \$412 million in mortgages and subordinated debentures, paying bondholders with new mortgages, shares of common stock in the reorganized Bally's Grand and cash.

For the Record

SmithKline Beecham PLC said Tuesday in London that it had formed a partnership with Marion Merrell Dow Inc., to develop and sell nonprescription drugs.

Son Co. said Tuesday it has settled all disputes it had with Iran and the state-run oil company over seizure of Sun assets after the Iranian revolution. Iran is to pay Sun \$130,5 million,

Dell Computer Corp., the longtime discount personal computer leader, reported a 77 percent increase in fiscal second-quarter earnings on a 129 reported a 77 percent increase in fiscal second-quarter earnings on a 129 reported a 77 percent over the personal country of the first personal country of the firs percent surge in revenue.

MARKET: Tokyo Applies a Band-Aid to the Wound

NASDAQ Diary

(Continued from page 1)

institutions were to domp shares over the next few weeks to take profits to shore up balance sheets for the fiscal half-year ending Sept. 30. A phange in the equity market this spring was triggered by corpo-rate selling designed to bolster bal-

To prevent such a slide, Mr. Hata said he would ask institutional investors to refrain from "easy"

profit-taking in stocks. As an encouragement, he said the Finance Ministry would suspend a rule requiring companies to report losses ber of problem borrowers. on their equity holdings for the interim period. Losses would still "It will prove impossible for the have to be shown in full-year ac-

Analysts said that for the measures to be effective, the banking industry would have to accede to the ministry's request not to sell

countings.

stocks. But that proposition has been made less likely by government arm-twisting to rescue a num-

anthorities to intervene in asset markets," said Jesper Koll, economist at S.G. Warburg Securities. "The markets have been deregulated and the authorities will have to face the consequences."

U.S. FUTURES

Season Season Night Low Open High Low Close Chp.	Season Season Open High Low Close Cha.	Season Season Open High Low Close Ch
Grains	9.76 8.67 Jul 8.97 9.04 8.97 9.01 —.06 9.48 8.67 Oct 8.50 8.94 9.05 8.92 —.05 8.51 Solos 6.657 Perev. Sales 5.601 Prev. Day Open Int. 77.376 off 694	95.12 90.22 Dec 95.10 95.21 95.10 95.20 95.06 90.20 Mor 94.92 95.02 94.92 95.01 94.55 94.50 94.52 94.52 94.52 94.52 94.52 94.52 94.53 94.63 94.53 94.63 94.53 94.63 94.53 94.63 94.53 94.63 94.53 94.63 94.53 94.63 94.53 94.63 94.53 94.63 94.53 94.63 94.5
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Stock indexes

SP CDMP. INDEX (CME)

points and cents
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42.20 379.00 Sep 20.50 421.75 419.85 420.85
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551. Soles Prev. Soles 20.25

Prev. Day Open Int. 164.256 up 464

NYSE CDMP. INDEX (NYPE)

points and cents
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Talk's mark

Mannesmann Earnings Dive Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatche

DUSSELDORF — Mannesmann AG said Thursday that its net income plunged 89 percent in the first half, kicking off an 11 percent drop in its stock that dragged the Frankfurt Stock Exchange to its low for the year,

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DM in the year-earlier period. Profits were weighed down by losses at Mannesmann's mobile phone unit. Excluding losses from that division, net income fell 27 percent, to 165 million DM. First half group sales rose 21 percent, to 12.8 billion DM.

After the worse-than-expected results, Mannes-mann's stock fell 29.10 DM, to 238.20 DM, on the Frankfurt exchange, where the DAX indicator dropped 22.2, to 1,533.22. That was below its previous low-point this year, 1,540.98 on Thursday.

Chairman Werner Dieter said in a letter to shareholders that the results were "not satisfactory" and that 1992 was "a difficult year for capital goods." High costs, global competition with insufficient prices, the continued disappearance of markets and the dollar-mark relation pressured earnings," he said.
"We cannot expect a fundamental change during
the remaining months of this year," he added, but the

company did not provide predictions. In addition to economic weakness, cost and price

pressures, he said there had been "high upfront pay-ments for mobile phones and automotive technology" that would "pay off later." Industrial investment by the company rose 53 per-

The engineering company said group net income totaled 15 million Deutsche marks (\$10.2 million) in the first half of 1992, down 88.8 percent from 134 million outperformed the DAX index by 5.6 percent this year. cent during the first half. "I'll be reducing my forecast for the year and expect the shares to go down for the time being" to as low as 230 DM, said Jenny Tora, industrial analyst at Merrill

The Merrill Lynch analyst said she was keeping her long-term "outperform" rating on the stock, but probwould cut her 1992 earnings forecast to betwee

and 9 DM per share from a current forecast of 12 DM.
In 1991, Mannesmann earned 14 DM per share.
Rod Hinkel, analyst at Hoare Govett Ltd., said second-half earnings would be undermined by the anemic U.S. economy, the weak dollar and declining demand from eastern Europe.

At the same time, earnings would benefit from com-pletion of several large plant and engineering contracts and tax-loss benefits from the mobile phone operation, he said, citing a conversation on Tuesday with Mannes-mann executives. That would help the company keep its 1992 dividend at 9 DM per share, he said.

(Reuters, Bloomberg, AFP)

Siemens to Cut 9,000 by 1995

MUNICH -- Siemens-Nix-

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

dorf Informationssysteme AG, formed by the merger of Nixdorf AG and the computer operations of Siemens AG, said it planned to cut 9,000 jobs by the end of 1995, saving an estimated 1.6 billion Deutsche marks (\$1.09 billion).

A spokesman for the Siemens unit said the survival of the company depended on the new cuts. At the end of July, it employed 49,200 people, compared with 52,500 at the end of

The unit, which reported a 1991 loss of 781 million DM, was not expected to be profitable this year. (AFP, AFX)

EC Doesn't Expect the U.S. To Escalate Oilseed Battle

BRUSSELS - The European Community is not expecting the United States to escalate a trade dispute over oilseeds by slapping punitive tariffs on EC food and drink this week, a Community

spokesman said Tuesday.

The quarrel is being handled under a General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade procedure that sets a deadline of 60 days, which runs out Wednesday, to find a solution.

Washington has drawn up a list of wines, spirits and food valued at \$1 billion on which it could impose tariffs of up to 400 percent if it does not get satisfaction, but officials and diplomats say the U.S. is holding its fire.

We have not heard that the South America.

United States intends to take retalintory measures," the spokesman for the EC's executive Commission

GATT panels have twice supported Washington's complaints that EC oilseed subsidies hurt U.S. farmers. Such seeds as soybeans and rapeseed are crushed to produce animal feed or oil.

The EC has made two offers of compensation at negotiations in Geneva, but both have been reject-

The EC contends that American soybean producers have lost their dominance of a growing European market for oilseeds not because of subsidies but because they are uncompetitive against growers in

Elf Buys Schering's **Plating**

The plating unit, Galvano-technik, had 1991 sales of 329

the largest companies produc-ing chemicals and equipment for printed circuits and gener-al metal finishing. Schering said. It has production sites in

rochemicals units. As part of that strategy, it sold its indus-trial chemicals and natural substances unit in July to New

trolled oil company. Elf Atochem, which produces basic and specialty chem-

icals, operates in the electro-plating field through its U.S. subsidiary, M&T Harshaw. Elf Aquitaine's stock rose 1.5 francs to 323 in active trading

Business

BERLIN - The German chemical company Schering AG, pursuing a strategy of paring down its operations, said Tuesday it would sell its electroplating unit to France's FIf Atochem for an undis-

million Deutsche marks (\$226 million), accounting for more than 5 percent of Schering's total revenue. Galvanotechnik is one of

Europe and America and re-search laboratories in Berlin and Yokohama, Japan. Schering aims to focus on its core pharmaceuticals and ag-

York-based Witco Corp. Elf Atochem is a division of Société Nationale Elf Aqui-taine, the French state-con-

Tuesday on the Paris Bourse. In Frankfurt trading, Schering's stock fell 1.50 DM, to 698.

(Bloomberg, UPI, Reaters)

Cost-Cutting Helps SAS Return to Profit in Half

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches STOCKHOLM — Scandinavian industry over the past two years.

"Any one of these three factors Airlines System on Tuesday reportfirst half of 1992 but said tough competition and a widespread recession would prevent much improvement in the rest of the year.

The airline's first-half profit before extraordinary items of 502 million Swedish kronor (\$94.4 million) compared with a loss of 1.02 billion kronor a year earlier.

"SAS has bucked the trend among most European airlines' profitability development at the half-year," said Jan Carizon, the chief executive.

Revenue rose 6.5 percent, to 16.14 billion kronor from 15.16 billion. The turnaround at SAS was at-

mbuted to a streamlining program started in January 1991 and smaller interest charges as servicing costs fell on its dollar-denominated debt. The cost of so-called net financial items dropped to 224 million kro-nor in the latest six months from 617 million a year earlier. SAS said its total passenger traf-

fic increased 3 percent from a year earlier, when air travel was greatly reduced by the Gulf War, but was 5 percent below the 1990 level.

Mr. Carlzon cited the Gulf crisis. recession and freer competition as

ed a return to profitability in the alone would have been a serious enough blow on its own," he said. "But, together they created a very critical situation.

problems that have hit the airline

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The first-half figures released in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, the three countries whose gove ments together own half of SAS, included one month of consolidation with Linjeflyg AB, the Swedish airline that SAS took over to strengthen its home market.

For the second half, traditionally a stronger period for airlines, SAS is forecasting no more than break-even because of a price war on some routes and a switch to economy from business class travel because of the recession.

"On top of that comes the cost of regrating Linjeflyg into SAS Swe-

SAS wants to abolish 1,500 jobs following the merger with Linje-flyg, but SAS cabin and ground personnel in all three countries staged strikes two weeks ago, proing that they had not been consulted about the cuts.

Linjeflyg staff on Toesday rejected what they described as a deal between SAS and its own employees following the wildcat strikes. (Renters, Bloomberg)

Frankfurt Landon **CAC 40** FTSE 100 Index 2100-2000 1900 2500 MAN JUST 1500 MAMJJA Tuesday Exchange Prev. Close Change **CBS Trend** 112.10 113,70 Amsterdam -1.41 Brussels Stock Index 5,408.82 5,402.07 +0.12 Frankfurt 1,555.42 -1.43 Frankturt 606.58 615.23 1.41 850.55 855.17 -0.71 London Financial Times 30 1,752.80 1,766.20 -0.76 **FTSE 100** London 2.354.7D 2.376.10 -0.20 Madrid General Index 208,66 209.00 -0.76 Paris CAC 40 1.736.72 1.757.31 -1.17 Stockholm Affaersveeriden 867.14 903.50 -1.82 352.65 -0.57 SBS Zurich 622.80 628.90 -0.97

Investor's Europe

Very briefly:

 Methanex Corp. said it agreed with the Metallgesellschaft AG unit Metallgesellschaft Corp. to acquire Metallgesellschaft's interest in a joint venture with a subsidiary of American Cyanamid Co., which will convert Cyanamid's New Orleans ammonia plant to produce methanol.

 Swiss investors are among the top foreign interests taking over newly privatized companies in the former East Germany, with 71 concernsbought to date for 700 million Deutsche marks (\$500 million), an official German source said in Zurich.

 Sedgwick Group PLC's chairman, David Rowland, said the insurance company plans to cut its year-end dividend to 3 pence a share from the 4 pence it paid a year earlier after it reported that six-month earnings fell 21 percent, to £51.7 million (\$99.5 million).

· Groupe Lapeyre, the French wood products company, said first-half sales rose 6.7 percent, to 2.01 billion francs (\$405 million).

. Merck AG said it agreed to market Biosite Diagnostics Inc.'s Triage urine testing kit designed to quickly detect a wide range of narcoties; no financial details were given.

• Finnish unemployment in July totaled 389,400, up 19,000 from June, and represented 15.1 percent of the work force, the Ministry of Labor said, adding that the percentage is the highest since World War II.

ACCOUNTING: British Practices Come Under Fire for Rosy Results

(Continued from first finance page) Drew, was suspended last week after a newspaper published excerpts from his forthcoming book on flexible, though far from illegal, accounting techniques used by top

companies. In an increasingly contentious atmosphere, company finance directors have been accused of distortions. Analysts have been accused, as one auditor put it, of being so underschooled in accounting that.

The finance director would come they regularly "have the wool pulled over their eyes." And the three of his compe off on those accounts are now faulted for failing to cry foul.

particular practices because they sign off on the accounts of compa-nics that use some of those treat-ments," said Roger Adams of the Chartered Association of Certified

And while the company treasures, auditors and analysts snipe at earnings per share. Recent surveys he Accounting Standards Board, 53 percent of British for dragging its feet on reform.

Many cite opposition from large corporations for the snail's pace of reform. "There always has been corporate opposition," said Mr. Carty of Robson Rhodes, "but that does not mean they should lie down

and be walked all over by vested on off-balance-sheet financing and

The Accounting Standards Board denies it is doing anything of the sort. "The board has a lot of changes in its sights," said Sydney Treadgold, the body's secretary.

The problem, according to one accountant, is that as a diligent outside auditor, he would inform his client that a given treatment was not acceptable, yet routinely he

technique," the accountant said. "The Big Six stop at condemning that many British companies harbor for declaring items in their ac-counts "exceptional." That step allows them not to damage reported carnings, since exceptional items are taken below the line, after taxable profits, and thus do not sully the all-important calculation of

> Recent surveys have shown that 53 percent of British companies de-clared exceptional items in their accounts, versus only 9 percent in the United States. The Accounting

on profit and loss accounts.

By using exceptional items and a host of other devices, British accounting treatments tend to yield the most bullish results. The same company reporting its accounts in Britain, the United States and Germany will show the largest profits in Britain, with the United States coming in in the middle and conservative Germany the lowest, ac-

There, the variety of treatments available to accountants is so rich as potentially to make the accounts virtually "meaningless," one aualyst said. David Tweedie, chairman of the Accounting Standards Board, himself has called acquisi-tion accounting no less than "the black hole of British accounting."

In spite of their growing public partners have little to teach them.
The situation in Germany and France, for instance, is widely be-

banks in turn commonly have close relations with the companies, rela-tions that often include having directors on the companies' boards.

"With the banks' detailed knowledge, there is much smaller incentive for companies in Germany and France to produce accounts that put a favorable gloss on their re-sults," said one British accountant. Attempts by the EC Commission

to bring the financial reports in Most accountants say the natir

Most accountants say the natir

Reines accountants say the natir back and show me the accounts of ... Most accounting say the nature gains, nor are they destined for three of his commercians whose an ... of British accounting comes in greater ancess in the future, many British accountants said. "The formais for accounts now look similar in Britain and Germany, for instance, but the underlying mea-surements remain considerably different, said Mr. Holgate of Coopers & Lybrand.

The most danning task of all belongs to the International Accounting Standards Committee. It is charged with crafting an interna-In spite of their growing public embarrassment, most British accountants insist that Britain's EC partners have little to teach them. for gaining a stock listing in a num-ber of nations:

In those countries, not only are large publicly held companies relatively rare, but where they do exist, their shareholdings are typically concentrated among banks. The

Den norske Bank's Loss Deepened in First Half Another big Scandinavian bank

OSLO - Den norske Bank, Norway's biggest commercial bank, on Tuesday reported a net loss of 1.16 billion kroner (\$200 million) for the first six months of 1992, a deterioration from the 921 million kroner loss in the year-earlier period.

Despite management's argument that net interest income had increased while loan losses and operating expenses had been cut, investors were unimpressed. DnB's class A shares, worth 170 kroner in April 1990, physged on the Oslo exchange after the results to 4.4 kroner from 5.5.

The six-month result was affected by a weak stock market. A profit in the year-earlier period of 141 million kroner on securities swing to a loss this time of 77 million.

Den norske and other Norwegian banks have had to resort to capital infusions from the government in their worst crisis since World War II.

gen that it had suffered a group pretax loss of 1.48 billion kroner (\$262 million) in the first half of 1992, following a 728 million kroner (AFP, Bloomberg, Remers)

holding company, Unidanmark A/S, reported Tuesday in Copenha-

WANG: Pioneering Company Files for Bankrutpcy

(Continued from page 1) to save the company, even though Wang will have to lay off 5,000 of

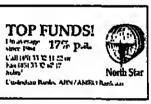
its 13,000 workers as it turns itself into a smaller company, concentrating more on software and in particular cutting its production of minicomputers. Some analysts prodicted that the company would The retailing conglomerate also never revive and would be broken has a network of thousands of data up and sold off piece by piece.

An IBM spokesman said the company's losses, if any, from the ies. IBM is hoping the merger will Wang venture were probably mini-increase its market share of 13 per-

such as Apple Computer Inc. and Groupe Bull of France. He also cited the network deal with Sears, long one of IBM's largest clients.

outlets through its real estate, in-surance and brokerage subsidiar-

mal, and that in any case IBM was cent of the worldwide network turning to other and more poten-tially profitable aliances with com-panies that once were competitors, with 26 percent.



INVESTMENT/BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY

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PTDC at the following address on or before 2nd November, 1992.

Reservation

PTDC reserves the right to negotiate the terms and conditions of the Bid with all or any of the Bidders and to accept, amend or withhold any Bid.

Submission of Bids

Bid documents for each Hotel including details may be obtained from Head Office of PTDC on any working day against nonrefundable payment (Bank Draft in favour of PTDC) of Rs. 50,000 in case of Pakistani Bidder or US \$ 2000 in case of a Foreign Bidder.

The completed Bid in duplicate sealed cover

--- should reach the Managing Director,



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Australia Foresees Interest Rate Drop

CANBERRA — Australia is likely to cut interest rates further if inflation stays in check, the government said Tuesday in its budget

"Further reductions in interest rates will be possible in time if the decline in inflation and expecta-tions of inflation is sustained," budget documents said

Monetary policy action has pro-gressively reduced Australia's cash interest rates from 18 percent in January 1990 to the current 5.75 percent. Many economists are predicting another easing, of between 0.5 and 0.75 percentage points, later this year.

The government announced a planned budget deficit of 13.4 bil-lion Australian dollars (\$9.68 bilion) for the fiscal year that began July 1, mostly due to higher spending aimed at reducing unemployment. That is the deepest deficit in 40 years, and it represents 3.3 percent of gross domestic product.

The new budget bases its revenue forecasts on growth of 3 percent in GDP this year, which would be almost double the 1.6 percent actual growth of the recently ended year. Budget outlays are estimated to

Wincrease by 7.3 billion dollars, to and Snowy Mountains Engineering 109.9 billion, while revenue is fore(Bloomberg, Reuters)

Inflation is forecast to remain low, about 2 percent, while the current-account deficit is expected to widen to about 3.75 percent of GDP, or 15 billion dollars. The current-account deficit for 1991-92 was 11.9 billion, or 3.1 percent of GDP.
Treasurer John Dawkins detailed

a fiscal stimulus package to pump about 4.5 billion dollars into the economy over the next two years. ously announced youth employ-

ment project and additional money for medical and housing services. Mr. Dawkins said 1.2 billion dollars of the new spending would be aimed at creating 800,000 new jobs

over the next four years.

In delivering the budget documents, he also said the government would cut its stake in the investment company AIDC Ltd. to 51 percent from 70 percent, in one of a series of asset sales that are expected to yield about 1 billion dollars in

the coming three years.
Other assets approved for sale include the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories and the Moomba-to-Sydney gas pipeline. Also on the block will be the Department of Administrative Services car fleet

Chinese Firm Seeks Listing On Wall Street

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches BELJING - A Chinese joint-venture company has applied for a listing on the New York Stock Exchange, an official newspaper said Tuesday.

It would be the first listing of a China-based company on a foreign stock market. The China Daily quoted

Zhang Liping, a vice president at Merrill Lynch & Co., as saying that accounting and legal problems had been resolved and that all the necessary documents had been filed with the U.S. Securities and Exchange

Meanwhile, China Re-

sources (Holdings) Co., one of China's largest enterprises in Hong Kong, said it planned to inject major real estate assets into Winland Investment Co. and raise its stake in the real estate concern to 51 percent from 32.6 percent. China Re-sources said it wanted Winland to become its principal listed unit on the Hong Kong exchange. (AP, Bloomberg)

Asians Wonder Whether Trade Pact Will Kill Their American Milk Cow

By Leslie Helm Les Angeles Times Service

TOKYO-For decades, America has been the land of opportunity for Asia's booming export industries.
First Japan, then Taiwan and South Korea and finally Southeast Asia added muscle to their economies by selling low-cost clothes, televisions, cars and other products to price-conscious American consumers.

But with the announcement of the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement, which would reduce barriers to trade among the United States, Canada and Mexico, some on this side of the Pacific say the U.S. market will be much harder to crack.

Moreover, Southeast Asian leaders worry that Taiwan, Korea and Japan will redirect their investments from Southeast Asia to Mexico, building production plants there in hopes of getting more advantageous access to the American market.

Korea and Taiwan worry about emerging competition from Mexico in textiles and electronics. Japan is concerned that its automakers will be uncompetitive under the terms of the accord.

All Asia worries that the North American pact represents a big step toward the division of the world into trade blocs, a division that could be a nightmare for Asia's trading nations.
"The United States doesn't seem to be pushing

mitomo Life Research Institute.

most Asian companies. "Asia can't survive without the American market," Mr. Mivamoto said.

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Japan might replace America as a major importer of Asian products, but that could take years. Analysts suggested that Asian factics to deal with the agreement would vary greatly by industry and country.

Japanese automakers will be the worst hit because of a rule requiring that 62.5 percent of the parts of cars considered to be domestic be North American-made.

Japanese manufacturers along the Mexican border that import parts, assemble products and re-export to the United States duty free - called magailadores -

will have to find local parts suppliers if they are to avoid duties. Some companies, however, are looking positively at the new market.

Akira Kitagawa, acting director of California's of fice for trade and investment in Tokyo, said Japanese companies in fields ranging from kitchenware to food processing were interested in tapping the newly created market of 360 million people.

Companies are considering dual operations that might typically involve a factory in Mexico to take advantage of the cheap labor but a designing and packaging operation in California that would allow the products to carry "Made in U.S.A." labels.

For the most part, however, observers say most globalism anymore but rather developing its own Japanese companies will likely invest somewhere other trade region," says Kunio Miyamoto, chief economist than the United States.

Since U.S. duties are relatively low, factors such as

Although countries such as Malaysia are pushing to labor quality and infrastructure will be E key to develop an East Asia bloc, Japanese analysts say the investment decisions, said Yasuo Tanabe, director of proposals are unrealistic. In spite of growing intra-Asian trade, America remains the primary market for Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

New Delhi Is Planning

National Stock Market

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW DELHI — India proposes to open a national stock exchange

that would serve as a model for its

existing 16 stock markets, Finance

Minister Manmohan Singh told Parliament on Tuesday. He gave

did not give details of the plan,

which emerged after India's finan-cial community has been shaken by

Meanwhile, stock markets ral-

lied for the third day in a row, and

traders said they expected the Bombay stock exchange index to

touch 3,000 points shortly. The

Bombay index rose 32.45 points, to

2,921.53. Delhi was up 9.81, to 699.72. (AFP, Bloomberg)

a \$1.3 billion securities scandal.

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Hong Kong	Hang Seng	5,675.16	5,667.65	+0.13
Singapore	Straits Times	1,310.95	1,334.42	-1.76
Sydney	All Ordinaries	1,565.00	1,559.00	+0.38
Tokyo	Nikket 225	14,309.41	14,929.55	-4.15
Kuala Lumpur	Composite	556.24	568.25	-2.11
Bangkok	SET	749.83	746.35	+0.47
Secui	Composite Stock	464.95	462.13	+0.61
Taipei	Weighted Price	3,772.91	3,784 48	-0.31
Manila	Composite	1,523.68	1,519.85	+0.25
Jekarta	Stock index	N.A.	310.26	•
New Zeeland	NZSE-40	1,501.21	1,491.05	+0 68
Bombay	National Index	1,287.78	1,277.96	+0.77
Sources: Reuters, A	IFP .		International He	iaki li ben

Very briefly:

Telephone Organization of Thailand's director-general, Paiboon Limpaphayom, has been removed by the communications minister pending a corruption investigation over E concession to E private company to install 4 million telephone lines.

. Japan's posts and telecommunications ministry plans to premote the use of high-definition television by giving tax breaks on purchases of costly equipment used for programs; the measure aims to reduce burdens

 Taiwan will accept the title "Chinese-Tuipei" as an unofficial reference to the island when it is admitted to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Vice Economics Minister P.K. Chiang said

Goodman Fielder Wattie Ltd., citing downturns in the Australian and New Zealand real estate markets, is devaluing property assets worldwide by 40 million Australian dollars (\$29 million), or 7 percent.

 Microtek International, Taiwan's leading manufacturer of computer-related equipment, slashed its 1992 pretax profit forecast by 65 percent, to 110 million Taiwan dollars (\$4.4 million), citing delays in launching a new color laser printer and lower prices in the scanner market,

w China plans to invest \$150 million in a Sino-Russian economic cooperation zone in Manzhouli, in Inner Mongolia, the China Daily reported. • East Asiatic Co. (Hong Kong) Ltd.'s net profit rose 24.1 percent, to 27.3 million Hong Kong dollars (\$3.5 million), in the first half of its financial year, which ended June 30.

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RICE: An Embarrassing Shortage

want to export rice to Japan but also from internal market forces.

Japan says it needs to bar imports of rice to ensure that it is selfsufficient in its staple food. But because Japan's farms are tiny and inefficient, prices for rice are three to 10 times those in the United States or other countries. The rice import ban is expected to come under great pressure later on in the current round of global trade nego-

But the current rice allocation system, a complex web of govern- but a surplus.

(Continued from first finance page) ment controls and subsidies mixed with free-market forces, is cracking at the seams even without the inter-

> Many farmers are selling their rice directly on the private market. rather than to the government as they are supposed to. Despite gencrous government subsidies, many farmers cannot support themselve and are forced to take other jobs in factories or stores. And rice consumption is declining as young people grow accustomed to Ken-tacky Fried Chicken and other Western fare. Indeed, in most years the problem is not a shortage of rice

Bank of Japan: Buy, Sell or Hold?

TOKYO - Investors in Japan, unlike those in the United States, Germany and elsewhere, can own a piece of the country's central bank, But with the Bank of Japan's stock underperforming even the anemic Nikkei index these days, why would anyone want to?

It might be for the status, analysts say.
"It's a prestigious thing to hold," said Yoshio
Miyanchi, vice president of Japan equity trading at
Lehman Brothers in Tokyo.

Before the Nikkei started down in early 1990, he BOJ had outperformed the market for years. In 1975, the share price was around 25,000 year (\$200 now), according to the Japan Securities Dealers Association. Today it trades around 187,000 yen a share. That would make an annual return of 12.5 percent. The Nikkei has averaged only a 7.3 percent gain over the same period.

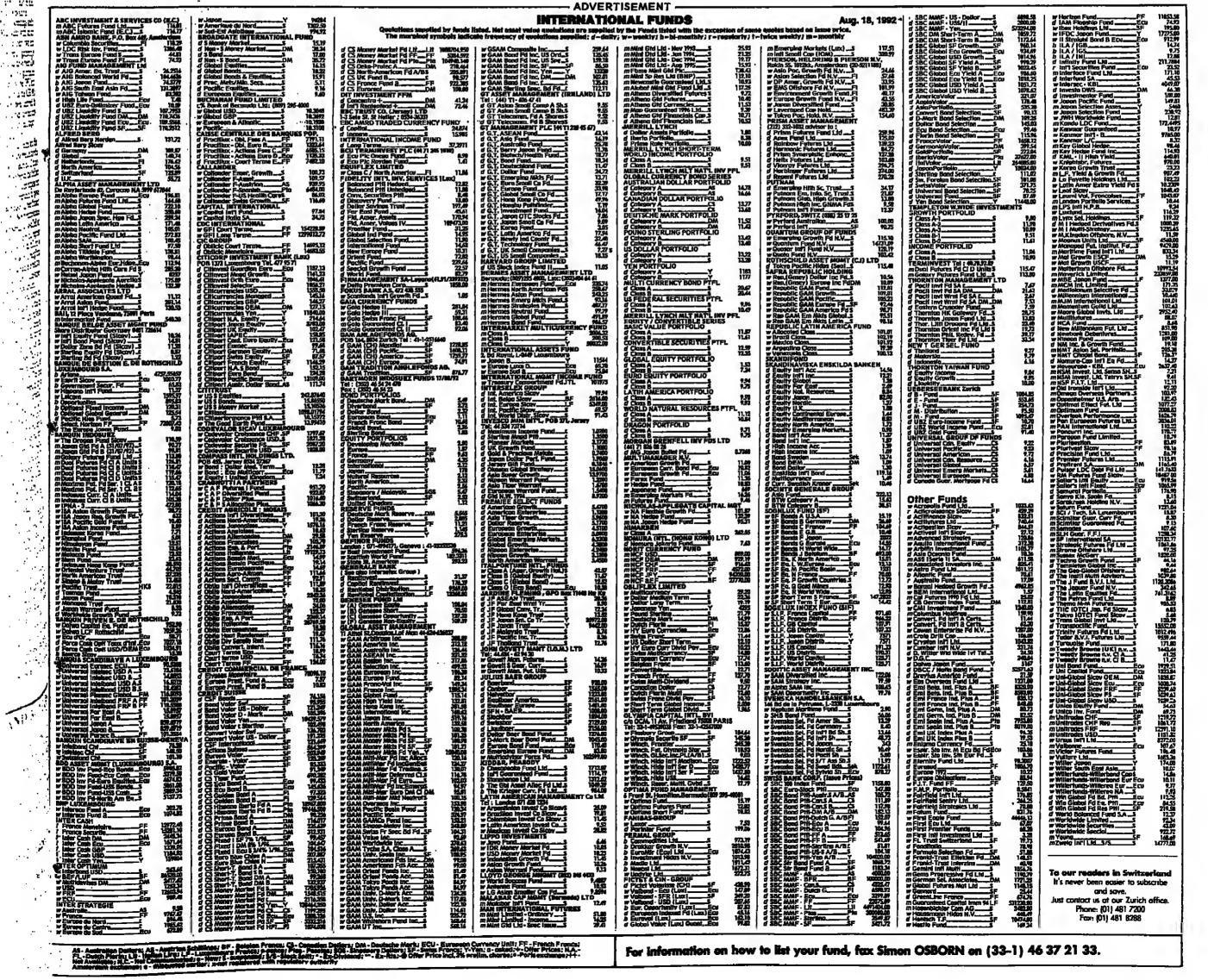
But in the past three years, BOJ shares have fallen 75 percent, from 745,000 yen a share, while

the Nickei has dropped 63 percent.

The Ministry of Finance owns 55 percent of the 1 million outstanding shares, individual investors own just under 40 percent and financial institutions and public entities own the rest.

The Bank of Japan issued the shares of capital stock in 1942, when the central bank was transformed into a special form of company, the only one of its kind. They trade on Japan's over-thecounter market. The shares have a par value of 100 yen and pay an annual dividend of 5 ven.

There's no restriction against foreign residents of Japan buying the shares but nonresidents must apply to the Ministry of Finance.



For information on how to list your fund, fax Simon OSBORN on (33-1) 46 37 21 33.

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SPORTS BASKETBALL

Bird Retires As Injuries End A'17-Year High'

The Associated Press

BOSTON - Larry Bird, who helped carry the National Basketball Association to new heights of popularity, retired Tuesday from the Boston Celtics, ending a 13year career that changed the game. "This is not a sad day," said Bird, 35, who was plagued by back problems for the last two seasons.

"It's a very emotional day, but not a sad day, because I knew this day was going to come."
Bird's brilliant passing, pinpoint shooting and relentless rebounding

made him the consummate team player. He and Magic Johnson, another selfless master of the court, kept the NBA from becoming just a bunch of school-yard superheroes. "When I played, I played as hard as I could," Bird said. "That's what

I want to be remembered for." They were a contrast in styles -Bird, the shy, reticent farm boy; Johnson, the hardcourt bon vivant whose bright smile lit up Hollywood. Yet, they will forever be linked, for during their era, atten-dance soared, TV money ballooned, salaries skyrocketed and basketball once again became a game of five players a side.

"Larry was the only player in the league that I feared and he was the smartest player 1 ever played against," Johnson said after bear-

ing of Bird's retirement. "I always enjoyed competing against him because he brought out the best in me. Even when we weren't going head to head I would follow his game because I always used his play as a measuring stick against mine.

Bird's last game appearance was Aug. 8, when a U.S. team led by Bird and Johnson won the gold medal at the Olympics. Bird was scoreless in 12 minutes. His greatness was magnified by

the fact that he returned the Celtics to greatness. Boston, winner of more championships than any other franchise in NBA history, was 29-53 the year before Bird arrived and 61-21 in his first season. The Celtics' executive vice presi-

dent, Dave Gavitt, said Bird would remain with the club and "assist me in various capacities. "Among other administrative duties, he will take an active role in community functions as be has an

unending love for the people of this city," Gavitt said. Bird announced his retirement at Boston Garden, the building he graced so often with his game-winning shots that he earned the nick-

name "Larry Legend." "I'm excited going into a new life, but I'm going to miss this life," said Bird, his eyes reddened with emotion. "I've been on a high for



Larry Bird with Lizbeth Schiff, wife of the Celtics' vice chairman; her son, Alexander, and Dave Gavitt, the executive vice president, in Monte Carlo as the U.S. team prepared for the Olympics.

"I had a lot of injuries through the years, but I just couldn't shake the back injuries. I gave my body, my heart, my soul to the Celtics.

At 6 feet, 9 inches (2.06 meters)

17 years. I enjoyed it, I just didn't like the injuries that I had, but that goes with the territory.

"I had a lot of injuries through the years, but I just couldn't shake long the Celtics NBA titles in 1981, '84 and '86.

He was named the NBA's mostand bopefully 1 can continue to valuable player three times, in have a good relationship with the 1984, '85 and '86, and was on the league's all-star team 11 times.

Bird was beset by a series of

injuries in the last four seasons. He played only six games in 1988-89 before undergoing surgery to re-move bone spurs from both heeks. He was healthy in the 1989-90 season, playing 75 games and averaging 24.3 points. In 1990-91, how-

ever, the back problems surfaced as he missed 22 games. After undergoing back surgery in June 1991, Bird played just 45 games last season, missing most of

the second half and playoffs. "Last year was a tough year be-cause after the surgery. I came back and felt very good and thought I'd play a lot of games, but it didn't turn out very well for me," he said.

Bird took a team of nobodies at Indiana State to the NCAA championship game in 1979 before they lost to a Michigan State team led by Johnson. It was the beginning of a career-long rivalry during in which they met in the NBA finals three times. It culminated this year on the U.S. Olympic team.

Between them they won eight NBA championships and popularized a new statistic, the triple-double - double figures in points, re-

A Gambler Bets on His Past never seen. I have been called a clown in football -

ONDON - Every once in a while a real man, L ONDON — Every once in a winter a real torn and motivated by the completities of the real world, destroys the notion that soccer players are about as responsive as answer phones.

Bruce Grobbelaar, the Liverpool FC goalkeeper. acrobat and gambler, is such a man. We have grown accustomed to Grobbelaar's equivalent of the goal-keeper's high wire act, to his sprinkling of rash and mistimed impulses spread throughout a decade of

often breathtaking daring and agility. Rob Even at Liverpool, where the in-

timacy between goalkeeper and crowd evolved through a succession of inspired custodians, Grobbelaar has won a special rapport. He is the showman human enough to make glaring mistakes, bold enough to stand up for his errors. and able to atone through an attitude so positive and outgoing it seems foreign to soccer's frightened age.
Foreign he is. The core of the man is African and last weekend, knowingly jeopardizing his immediate future as Liverpoop's No. 1, he answered the call of his

He was needed in two places. Sunday was Liverpool's first match in England's pretentious new Premier Division. It was also the first screening for British Sky Broadcasting, now the satellite masters of En-

Grobbelaar chose instead to fly to Harare to keep goal for Zimbahwe in an African Nations Cup qualify-

ng match against South Africa. To play for the country where I was raised against the country where I was born was historic for me," he explains. "I had fought for it for six years, and to go back and be mobbed and carried aloft by the fans was

one of the best experiences I've had as a footballer. Zimbabwe, for what it matters in the wider significance of things, won by 4-I. Grobbelaar, who obtained British citizenship by virtue of an ancestor born in Cane thip by virtue of an ancestor born in Cape Town Castle when it was considered British during the Boer War, won back his Zimbabwean passport.

It became a close thing. Right up to the Harare match, Zimbabwe refused him papers. Finally, Canaan Banana, former president of the nation and patron of the Zimbabwe soccer federation, pleaded with President Robert Mugabe to grant Grobbelsan's dual nationality

GROBBELAAR and Mugabe are not strangers.

They fought for their country, on opposite aides. Grobbelaar, though born in Durban, had volunteered for the Rhodesian Army at 17 in Ian Smith's white minority government standoff against the black guerrillas sent in by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe. Private Grobbelaar, an all-round sporting youth, was Rhodesia's goalkeeper against South Africa at 18, and Roy Bailey, a former goalkeeper with the English club Ipswich, was amazed by Grobbelaar's audacity in

spinning the ball on one finger. Years later, Grobbelaar met Mugabe and asked if the president remembered him. "Of course I dol" said

concluding a swooping save by lying on the ground,

the beaming head of state. Grobbelaar, and his past, would be hard to forget. He had friends killed and maimed during the 10-year war. "When I left the army," he said a year ago, "I left' for good. I've seen a life many, many footballers had but if I don't go onto the field with a laugh and smile. I shouldn't be doing it.

siming F

Well as Ga

This is the man who captivated a crowd at Wembley Stadium by walking oo his hands after his team had won the FA Cup. Grobbelaar had arrived in England via the Vancouver Whitecaps, having preferred soccer

to playing baseball. He also swims like a fish, plays golf nearly as well as a pro and has a tenacious squash game. But as the father of two daughters, he cannot spurn soccer's riches. "I'm happy to be alive and to play any sport," he reflected before this season began, "and, really, I wouldn't mind working for a living and playing at weekends. But I have two years on my Liverpool contract, and I know I can play four or five years after that in the Premier League."

He has been Liverpool's first choice since August 1981. He has laughed as few soccer players dare, and openly wept at the futility of spectators dying at matches in which he played, at Heysel and Hillsborough.

The old soldier in him almost defected from the game then. On each occasion, the managers, Bob Paisley and Kenny Dalglish, men who tolerated his aberrations and to some extent share his wider view of sport, talked him into stay.

Graeme Sourcess, Liverpool's latest manager, is more impetuous, less willing to forgive Grobbelaar's nad moments or his popularity.

Souness, dismantling the old to build a new team in his own image, has dropped Grobbelaar, reinstated him, and now spent almost \$2 million on David James, just 22 and a dozen years junior to Grobbelaar.

THE 6-FOOT, 4-inch (I.93-meter) James, coming A from the second-division club Watlord, is a young giant of a keeper. Sooner or later he will be the No. 1, provided he adjusts to the pressures at this level.

Under last Sunday's spotlight, James was blameless in Liverpool's I-O defeat at Nottingham Forest. Indeed, he bravely saved an inadequate defense from a rout and, Grobbelaar admitted oo Monday, "I don't think the boss should make a change in goal. The lad had a very good game — and I said before I went to Zimbabwe that if David James had a blinder there was no way the boss could drop him. That is the Liverpool way, and you accept it."

Grobbelaar will say or do nothing to further accelerate his own succession at Liverpool. He is scheduled to have a chub testimonial against Everton on Oct. 10, a reward to a player highly paid during 11 years as the last line of defense.

And yet, as Africans say, the bee, having tasted honey, returns to the pot. Zimbabwe has African Nations Cup matches against Mauritius on Aug. 3049 against Angola on Oct. 24 and a World Cup qualifier against Togo on Oct. 13.

For Grobbelaar, the past is beginning to make heavy demands against the present. And the future, in the shape of David James, is as eager as n young cub to

Human, these soccer stars, with career decisions to make just like the rest of us. And just at the age where Bruce Grobbelaar keeps promising himself he will temper his gambling with some safer choices, the pull on his instinct is greater than ever.

Rob Hughes is on the stuff of the Strekty Times.

Mansell Says It's Williams Or Retirement in 1993

DOUGLAS, Isle of Man --- Formula One driving champion Nigel Mansell said Tuesday he would renew his contract with the Williams-Renault team for next season or quit racing

"It is either the Williams team or retirement," Mansell said, denying rumors he would return to Ferrari, a team he drove for in the 1980s. Mansell said he would finalize talks with Williams-Renault "with-

THE VOLCANO LOVER:

By Susan Sontag, 419 pages, \$22.

Farrar, Straus & Giroux Inc., 19

Union Square West, New York, New

Reviewed by Michiko Kakutani

THE doomed 18th-century love affair

seems an improbable subject for Susan

Sontag, famed explicator of the avant-

garde and author of such opaque, willful-

ly modern novels as "The Benefactor"

(1963) and "Death Kit" (1967).
The story, laid out in "That Hamilton

Woman," a glossy 1941 movie starring

Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh that

just happened to be Winston Churchill's

favorite film, concerns the romance be-

tween the British naval hero, Horatio Nelson, and Emma Hamilton, the beau-

tiful wife of Sir William Hamilton, the

British ambassador to Naples. Their illic-

it affair ended in 1805 with Nelson's

death in the Battle of Trafalgar. Emma,

left without an estate, died penniless 10

In Soniag's telling of the story, the focus remains firmly on Sir William Hamilton (or the Cavaliere, as she always

calls him), the diplomat and aesthete

now remembered as one of history's

years later in France.

of Lady Hamilton and Lord Nelson

A Romance

York 10003.

in the next 48 to 72 hours."

The 39-year-old Englishman se-cured the 1992 championship after without a team this season, has said second at the Hungarian Grand Prix on Sunday.

again with another team."

"I feel my heart is in my own country," he said at a news conference near his home on the Isle of later returned and joined Williams. Man, "I know the Williams team and the mechanics. I don't want to leave something I have created in the team and have to do it all over offered a contract for the 1993 sea-

only II of the season's I6 races by he will also join Williams in 1993.

Mansell and Prost clashed when they both drove for Ferrari, prompting the Englishman to announce his retirement in 1989. He

Mansell said Williams-Renault team owner Frank Williams had son several months ago.

"But he didn't tell me the condi-tions," Mansell said. "We have been in the game too long to take any risks from that point of view.

"I want to stay," he said. "There are only a few little things to sort out with certain assurances which other people have got to give.

"But if not, then that is no problem. I have at least won the world championship. If the opportunity is taken away from us to defend it, there is nothing we can do about it." bounds and assists.

the man who will become the great love voice that recounts, comments and embroiders. It's an intimate, friendly voice, crudite and knowing, yet light-years re-moved from the chilly, annoyingly ab-stract voice used in her earlier Kafka-

> In keeping with her more recent esemphasizing the aesthetic view of the world. Sontag has endowed this novel with a firm moral and political point of view. She has bracketed the love story of

esque novels.

historical perspective.

PEANUTS

Why Dogs Are the Most Superior of All Creatures On Land, Sea and Sky and Maybe Space.







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volcano overlooking Naples, which threatens constantly to erupt.
As depicted by Sontag, Emma (always referred to as the Cavaliere's wife) emerges as her husband's antithesis:

an essay as "the saturnine personality": He is melancholy, analytic, solitary and detached. He has found escape from that melancholia in an astonishing array of enthusiasms: for politics, science, litera-ture and art. He is the character in "The Volcano Lover" who seems to hold cen-

most famous cuckolds. The Cavaliere

possesses what Sontag once referred to in

Until he meets Emma, his nephew's mistress, the Cavalicre's passion is confined to inanimate objects: paintings, vases, and bits of stone and glass. Something in him, however, is magnetically drawn to danger. He has become ob-sessed with Mount Vesuvius, the famous

earthy, life-loving and exuberant. Al-though she is not in love with this distinguished older man, she responds to his kindness and his eagerness to teach. She is happy to play Galatea to his Pygma-lion; that is, until she meets Lord Nelson,

of her life. Nelson (always referred to by Sontag

as the hero) comes across as a kind of latter-day Mark Antony, a man promoted by history but beguiled and nearly undone by a beautiful woman. "He intended to be a hero," Sontag says, which explore the dangers of overwrites. "He wanted to deserve praise, to

history books. He saw himself in history paintings, as a portrait bust, as a statue on a pedestal, or even atop a high column in a public square."

In beginning of this historical romance, the reader initially suspects Son-

tag of using the Hamilton-Nelson story as a means of illustrating the thesis she laid out years ago in her influential essay "Against Interpretation"; the thesis that what matters in art is style, not content, the telling of the tale, not the tale itself. Indeed one is quickly mesmerized by the wonderfully supple narrative style used by Sontag in this novel.

From time to time, Sontag allows the characters to speak to us directly, but for the most part it is her own omniscient

Emma Hamilton and Lord Nelson with the horrifying story of what happened to the Neapolitan republicans opposed to Nelson's friends, the king and queen of Naples; and in doing so, she has put the self-indulgent follies of the lovers into a

Whereas "That Hamilton Woman" romanticized the protagonists as tragically doomed lovers. "The Volcano Lover" forces the reader to acknowledge their role in the politics of their time, a role Sontag regards as reprehensible.

Michiko Kakutani is on the staff of The New York Times.

BEST SELLERS

The New York Times
This list is based on reports from more to the United Street and list are not necessarily consecutive. TOMES LE THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME
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THE BRUDGES OF MADI-

lumbles: ARBOR TEMPO GARNED NEARLY

WITHIN, by Gloria Steinem BACKLASH, by Susan Painoli ACQUIRED TASTES, by Peter Mayle 12

IS DIANA: A PRINCESS AND
HER TROUBLED MARRIAGE, by Nicholas Davies. 14 SON COUNTY, by Robert James Waller
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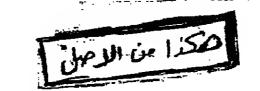


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SPORTS BASEBALL

*Braves' Team Spirit Is Winning Friends As Well as Games

By Claire Smith

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New York Tomes Service
PITTSBURGH — The Atlanta Braves, fortunate in their firstplace performance in the National League West, are all the more blessed this season because their The state of the s off-field demeanor is just as win-

That professional team-oriented behavior is reflected in the relaxed nature of the team's manager, Bobby Cox. For he knows that, as of this moment, Atlanta's latest roll over National League opponents has as much to do with cohesiveness and cooperation among his players as it does with talent and

In an era of allimportant individual statistics, the

Braves exude selflessness at every turn.

luck. Managers like Toronto's harried Cito Gaston and Oakland's sometimes-frustrated Tony Lak-ussa — burdened with balking pervish superstars — should be so licky.

In an era when individual statistics connected to special contract clauses are known to drive players more so than another contending team, the Braves exude selflessness at every turn.

It shows in the attitude of Tom Glavine, the odds-on favorite to win a second straight Cy Young Award, who won his major-leagueleading 18th game last Friday as well as his 12th straight against the Pittsburgh Pirates, matching a 78year-old franchise record.

When Cox declared that seven innings and 90 pitches were all Glavine needed to contribute to a game that, for all intents, was over by the second imming. Glavine did not ar-

"Shutouts are nice, complete games are nice, but I'd much rather be strong in September and Octo-ber," Glavine said, "Last year took its toll on me, so this year I'd rather take my rest where I can and be strong down the stretch."

Refreshing words? They are in this incentive-driven era, when contests for awards like the Cy plete games as well as victories.

But Glavine passed on the shot for an eighth complete game, left his imnings total holding at 200%, a manageable number in a year be figures he'll make perhaps nine more regular-season starts and perbaps as many as six more should the Braves wind up in the World Series again.

. Cox had to be even more pleased with the contribution from a player not considered one of his stars, but one who now makes his living as a sort of rabbit's foot in uniform and still-effective offensive weapon whenever called upon.

That player is one Lounie Smith, infortunately more noted over the years for mishaps than for the important contributions he has made to more pennant-winning fran-

chises than any other player in the history of the major leagues.
Smith, dusted off by Cox to spell
David Justice, pelted the Pirates
pitching with five hits in six times
at bat, including a grand slam and

two run-scoring doubles.

All told, Smith drove in a careerhigh six runs. As Cox said, Smith is
the sort of role player who can
make a manager look awfully smart. He's also a player in a pos-tion to make a manager's life miser-able, if he so chooses. To Smith's credit, he chooses otherwise.

"I'm the sixth outfielder on the team and they use four," he said stoically. "But it's been easy because I'm real close and good friends with a lot of guys here. I respect these guys."

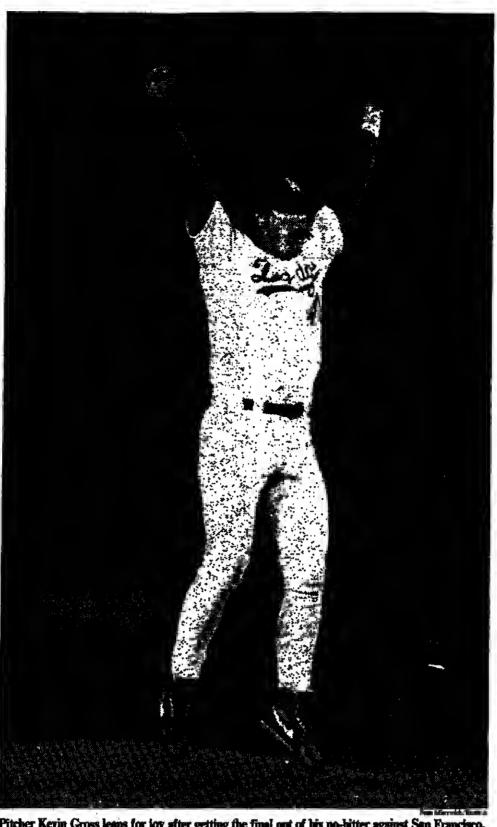
Smith also respects himself enough to believe he's still capable of contributing more than he has. He asked for a trade, even his re-lease, earlier in the season. The Braves assured him there was no interest from other teams, and also made it known they would not swallow his contract whole.

"I hate to use the word 'stuck. but I couldn't go anywhere," Smith said. "Every player has pride and I'm no different. But I'll live with

He does, without protest, to Cox's relief. And he continues to prove, as he did last year when he filled for the suspended Ous Nixon, that he's capable of contributing hig hits at big moments, in big pennant-drive months. In 1991, his contributions helped the franchise to its first pennant in decades.

Once there, Smith, after going hitless in 10 at-bats through Game 3 of the league title series against the Pirates, finished at a :429 clip in the next four games and became the first player in history to play for four different teams in the World Series. - This year, Smith hopes to make it

to a fifth Series, which could make being stock in Atlanta something he can than five with. Cox, who knows that winning teams are as fortunate to have contributions from the likes of the Lonnie Smiths of the world as they are the Tom Glavines, will he able to live with that, too.



Pitcher Kevin Gross leaps for joy after getting the final out of his no-hitter against San Francisco.

Dodgers' Gross Pitches Season's First No-Hitter

By Bill Plaschke

Los Angeles Times Service LOS ANGELES — The silver lining in a storm-filled season finally appeared at Dodger Stadium when an exasperated pitcher turned his hard luck into history. Kevin Gross, who began Mon-

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day night's game with a 5-12 re-cord, ended it with his arms in the air and tears rolling down his cheeks after pitching a no-hitter against the San Francisco Giants. The 2-0 victory was the first no-hitter in the major leagues this sea-son, and the eighth in the Dodgers'

"It makes up for a not-so-good year for the Dodgers and myself," Gross said. "It brought tears to my eyes, no doubt about it."

He walked two and hit one bat-ter, but of 99 pitches, only 18 were balls. His final pitch was a curveball strike that was popped to left field by Willie McGee. Even before Mitch Webster

caught it, the 6-foot, 5-inch (1.95meter) Gross was leaping off the mound. Soon he towered above a

He was probably looking at several members of his family, including his mother, Margo Ingram, who later said it Gross's first no-hitter

since he was 10. "We were here, crying and pray-

ing for him," she said. "It makes you feel real good. A lot nicer than hearing the boos." It was the first time Gross has 10th inning ended the Pirates' run game in his nine-year major league

won a game in five weeks. The only thing more improbable was that his magical night was saved by the Dodgers' shortstop, Jose Offerman, who leads the majors with 32 errors but did not miss either of two tough chances in the late mnings.

In the eighth, in the play of the game, Offerman leaped to his right. and backhanded a line drive by Robby Thompsoo. Half of the ball was sticking out of Offerman's glove after he brought it down.

man grabbed a grounder up the middle by Greg Litton to force

Mark Leonard at second base after in the ninth. Loonard had been hit by a pitch. "Tonight he had command of everything, and that can be the result," Mike Scioscia, the Dodger catcher, said of Gross. "He's had a much better season than his record indicated. He is the post course."

indicated. He is the most over-

looked pitcher on the staff."
Besides serving as an exclamaing which he has gone 96-113, the no-hitter could not have come at a better time for the Dodgers.

Mired in their worst season since coming to Los Angeles, they were on the verge of being swept in a four-game series by the Giants at their home park for the first time.

Gross retired the side in the first home and first in two weeks.

"After Offic caught the line drive, he came in and said, "We're going to get it," "Gross said.
With one out in the minth, Offer-double play to end the imming. Gross then retired 19 consecu-

tive hitters before hitting Leonard Gross pitched 41/3 hitless inning

in his last start against the Cincin-nati Reds. But after Jeff Branson broke the streak with a single, Gross gave up two more consecutive hits, capped by Joe Oliver's three-run homer that gave the Reds a 3-2 victory. Earlier this season, Gross struck out 24 in E three-start stretch that ended May 24, But he didn't strike out 24 more batters until six starts later.

The Dodgers scored in the sec-

Braves Send Bucs As Gross finally left the mound with a red face and wrinkled uniform, he thrust a first toward the box seats behind the plate. As Gross finally left the mound with a red face and wrinkled uniform, he thrust a first toward the box seats behind the plate.

If the Atlanta Braves needed a psychological boost for what could be a National League playoff re-match against the Pittsburgh Pirates, Mark Lemke and a productive weekend gave it to them.

Lemke's two-out double in the allowed fewer than three hits in a of extra-inning victories Monday game in his nine-year major league night in Pittsburgh, and the Braves career. It was the first time he has won, 5-4, for their third victory in the four-game series between the NL division leaders.

> The Pirates, who lost the season series to Atlanta, 7-5, had won four straight in extra innings. The losing pitches, Bob Patterson, bas four extra-innings victories this season and 12 among his 17 major-league

The Braves won five of their last seven against Pittsburgh and took four of six in Three Rivers Stadium,

"Is it big?" asked the Braves' manager, Bobby Cox. "I think so. That was a big win for us. When you win the first two, you want

them all, but when you lose the third one, three of four is good." The Braves increased their lead to five games over the second-place Cincinnati Reds in the NL West, while the Pirates' East lead over Montreal dropped to two games. Sid Bream's RBI single in the first, after two-out singles by Terry

BASEBALL ROUNDUP

Pendleton and David Justice. scored the first Braves' run. The Pirates made it 1-1 in the

second against Pete Smith on Mike LaValliere's RBI single, his fourth straight hit over two games. Jeff Treadway's two-out single in the fourth gave Atlanta a 2-1 lead; the Braves scored four of their five rons with two outs.

Jeff King gave the Pirates a 3-2 lead in the fourth, following Orlando Merced's single with a homer. Bream, a former Pirate, tied it in the sixth by homering on a 2-0 pitch from Doug Drabek.

Atlanta took a 4-3 lead on Damon Berryhill's two-out RBI douthe iming without a hit on Andy Van Slyke's run-scoring grounder. Drabek gave up four runs on nine hits, walking four and striking

out three over eight innings, the 21st time in 26 starts he has worked at least seven. He has a 1.84 carnedrun average but only a 4-3 record in his last nine starts.

David Justice, who broke out of a 1-for-16 slump by going 3 for 4 and scoring three times, doubled to greet Patterson in the 10th.

Patterson got the next two hit-ters, but Lemke hit a ground-rule double over the left-center-field fence one pitch after a long drive to left just went foul. Patterson hadn't allowed a run in 1415 innings over

wanted to go away on him but got it inside, and he got it," Patterson said. "It was a bad pitch."

The Pirates' manager, Jim Ley-land, would not concede that the Braves were better, despite their season edge and their success in the final two series between the division frontrunners. The Braves won two of three in Atlanta on July 24-26.

"They're good, so are we," he said. "They've got a lot of weapons and good depth. They've got excel-lent starting pitching, and that's why they won last year."

White Sox 4, Yankees 3: In an American League game in Chicago, Greg Hibbard held New York to four hits over eight innings and the White Sox, with two uncarned runs in the fifth, won for the 14th time in

The Yankees dropped their fifth land Indians in the AL East.

Melido Perez was the loser, although he allowed only five his and two earned runs.

Royals 6, Tigers 5: Mike Macfarlane drove in three runs with two doubles and his third bomer in three games as Kansas City beat visiting Detroit.

The win was the third in a row for the Royals, and it was only the for a professional career. "If I was going to get beat up, I wanted to be second loss in the last 10 games for the Tigers.

Olympic Boxing Changes Sought

rector of U.S. Amateur Boxing, will suggest Cocoa Beach, Florida, next month.

and a vice president of AIBA, the world governing body for amateur boxing, will also suggest changes in the scoring at a meeting of AIBA vice presidents in Taipei in November.

judges accountable for the scores they put in.
So consequently, if someone isn't pushing the

ond of one another.

own computerized score for each round. At the end of the bout, the high and low scores would NEW YORK - Jim Fox, the executive di- be discarded and the scoring of the three remaining judges would be converted to a 20-

The winner of the round would get 20 points and the loser fewer than 20, with the amount depending on how much disparity there was in the number of blows registered.

"Our board of governors will approve this concept," said Fox, "because we're interested in making sure there's a level playing field." Konnor proposes to give the judges two sec-

onds, rather than one, to agree on what constitutes a scoring blow. His plan would also throw out the high and low scores and leave the final decision resting with the bellots of the remaining three judges. "If the AIBA vice presidents endorse it," said

Konnor, "we'd pass the recommendation on to the executive committee of AIBA." But, said Konnor, "Sometimes I feel I'm out

there like a voice in the wilderness. Most of the AIBA people act as though they don't want to

Cancel Rugby Match, ANC Official Urges

The Ass

"The gist of it," said Fox, "is that the ma-

is counted as a scoring blow only when all five

JOHANNESBURG - A top official of The ANC sports spokesman, Steve

South Africa and New Zealand.

ANC officials said the fate of Saturday's match would be discussed at an executive meeting Wednesday. Australian team officials have said they will call off the tour, which is to end Saturday, if the ANC with-

that the computerized scoring system used at point must system the Barcelona Olympics he overhanded when The winner of the his organization's board of governors meets in

And Paul Konnor, a Milwankee attorney who is general counsel to U.S. Amateur Boxing

chine as currently structured doesn't hold

button, he can control the score on the board." Under the system used in Barcelona, a punch judges hit their computer buttons within a sec-

What Fox proposes is to forget the one-second restriction and let each judge render his str up a homet's nest."

the African National Congress has said that South Africa's rugby match Saturday against Australia must be called off, the Star newspaper reported Tuesday.

Tshwete, said the match should not be played because "the white community is not prepared to accept the hand of reconciliation. Rugby fans deserve to be punished." White spectators sang the national anthem during what was supposed to be a minute of silence at last Saturday's match between

draws its support.

Australia played the Eastern Province team without incident Tuesday in Port Elizabeth.

SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL Major League Standings

AMERICAN LEAGUE

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Montgomery (30), 1989—Detroit, G Kapada City, MacGarlane (12), NATIONAL LEAGUE

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(10 testings)

P.Smith, Mercher (7), Startion (8), Freen

100 020 51x-4 AFRICAN NATIONS CUP & Nigeria 0 TRANSACTIONS

> minor-league contract. MILWAUKEE—Pot Tim McInbelt, colcher, PHILADELPHIA-Put Lenay Dykstra.

ownwow, an 13-day disabled list. Recalled Broulto Castillo, outfielder, from Scracka Wilken-Barre, international Lagsue. PTTTSBURGH—Bought Danny Cox. Pitch-ey, from Buffalo. American Association, Put Tone Smith, pitcher, on 15-day disabled list.
BASKETBALL
Hetional Basketball Association
PORTLAND—Stand Mark Bryont, for-FOOTBALL

nd Michael James, comerbook. KANSAS CITY—Signed Rich Boldinger, of N.Y. JETS - Agreed to terms with Ken O'Bri

JENIX Released Verton branch Phillips of Edwards Wide receivers; Phillips olacekicker; Doug Duffon and Lance

druft pick.
N.Y. ISLANDERS—Named Jerome Gross-man president and other operatins officer.
Srico Traffer executive essistant to the pre-ident: Dan Malorey essistant to the pre-ident: Dan Malorey essistant manager; and BM Torrey consultant.

fereemen, and Brian McReynolds, center. TAMPA BAY—Named Skip Thayer head trainer; Jocko Cover equipment manager; Presty Forrished assistant trainer, and Gord COLLEGE BIG SOUTH CONFERENCE—Named Carl WCAlcase assistant commissioner. CAL STATE-FULLERTON—Named Arde-COLGATE-Named Jerry Hartman defen-

CORTLAND STATE-Named From Elic sports information director.

CORNALL-Named Pot Giller

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SIDELINES

Another Piggot Upset, 44 Years Later YORK, England (Combined Dispatches) - Lester Piggott, on the 44th ble in the eighth off Drabek, but suniversary of his first winner, rode Rodrigo de Triano to a sensational

victory Monday in the hotly contested York International Stakes. Piggott's first winner was The Chase, at Haydock, when he was 12. Rodrigo de Triano, winner of the English and Irish 2,000 Guineas but a disappointment in the Epsom Derby and Royal Ascot, came from last place beat All at Sea by a length, with 16-to-1 outsider Seattle Rhyme

three lengths back and English Derby winner Dr Devious fourth.

The big disappointment in of one of the best fields in the race's 20-year history was the 2-1 favorite Kooyonga, winner of the Eclipse Stakes and one of the best Irish-trained fillies of recent years.

(Reuaers, AFP)

Tyson Motion for New Trial Denied

INDIANAPOLIS (AP) - The judge in Mike Tyson's rape trial has med the former heavyweight champion's motion for post-conviction relief, blocking his efforts to win a new trial.

Marion Superior Court Judge Patricia Gifford said in an order issued Monday that a contingency fee agreement between the woman Tyson was convicted of raping and her attorney was not "newly discovered evi-dence" and would not merit a new trial. Gifford's eight-page order also affirmed her earlier decision to deny Tyson's attorneys the right to question 19-year-old Desiree Washington.

U.S. to Widen Testing of Swimmers

LOS ANGELES (AF) — Random, out-of-competition drug testing will be conducted for the first time among the top 150 American swimmers, beginning within the next 60 days, said Ray Essick, executive director of U.S. Swimming.

Swimmers will be notified by telephone and in writing 48 hours in advance. Essick said Monday to coaches representing 265 teams in the U.S. Swimming National Championships. The testers will go to the home, college domnitory or vacation sixe of the swimmer.

Province the testing has accounted only at major competitions.

Previously, testing has occurred only at major competitions. For the Record

Stere Howe, the New York Yankees' pitcher, had his plea of guilty to

cocaine charges accepted Monday by a federal judge in Missoula, Montana, and was placed on probation for three years, fined \$1,000 and ordered to perform 100 hours of community service. Howe was suspended from baseball after pleading guilty June 8. (AP)
Chris King, the 6-foot-7 forward from Wake Forest University who was picked by the Seattle SuperSonics in the second round of the NBA draft, has with the team's blessing signed a multiyear contract to play for the Spanish professional team in Malaga.

(AP) in the last seven games and fell into Ken O'Brien, the veteran quarterback of the NFL New York Jets, a last-place tie with the idle Cleveagreed to two one-year contracts Monday, ending his training camp

holdout. Terms were not announced. **Unotable**

Don Zimmer, the Boston Red Sox coach, on newcomer Billy Hatcher. "He'a not a great player, but he busts his tail, and around here that

• Fidel Castro on the U.S. men's basketball team in Barcelona: "They did it to show off their supremacy and arrogance." Tom Heinsohn, when asked why he chose basketball over football



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indoors where it was warm."





President à la Mode

By Russell Baker WASHINGTON — President Bush says he is about to enter "campaign mode." Does this mean America will then have president a

la mode? Absolutely not. Do you think the president is a slice of pie? This is the same answer I had from Bush's mode handler when he was asked if president à la mode wasn't a dangerously high-calorie finish to a four-year bout of gover-

The mode Bush will enter is not a dessert, but a new technological product of the space program. Space-news fans will have noticed that multitudes of modes pour out of NASA press releases.

There is launch mode, re-entry mode, recapture-the-lost-satellite mode, two-hour-snooze mode, expense-account-dinner mode and dozens more, including Washing-

ton-by-night mode.

A typical Washington-by-night mode is entered when two variously sexed government employees finish a two-bottle dinner and one says, "Let's not go back to the Pen-

tagon, let's go to your place."

The mode has recently been joined by the module, which is hard to distinguish from the old-fash-ioned model except that the "e" is misplaced and a "u" is thrown in for reasons NASA would rather not talk about. It seems pretty obvious though that NASA had an embarrassing excess of "n's" stockpiled and wanted to get rid of some before the press began fuming about "u"-gate.

Why doesn't Bush enter one of the new-fangled modules? Too risky. Since modules are much newer than modes, the Secret Service refuses to let Bush enter one until the manufacturers use stronger materials for holding the things

As the president's mode handler put it, "The Secret Service refuses to send their presidents up in those new crates held together with nothing but baling wire and chewing

Before Bush no president had ever even been in a mode. President Reagan might have done it, for the mode was already well developed in his time. Whenever people dropped by with one, however, Reagan was always busy winning the Cold War, and Mrs. Reagan refused to wake him

What's it like when Bush enters campaign mode? It is surprisingly unexciting. He undergoes no no-ticeable physical change. Through-out the entry he remains to the naked eye the same charming, gra-cious gentleman the world sees when he is cruising along in George-Bush-of-Yale mode.

There is no sudden burgeoning of whiskers, sprouting of canine teeth or guttural barking such as Lon Chaney Jr. experienced when entering werewolf mode or Speacer Tracy when he abandoned good Dr. Jekyll for Hyde mode.

The United States being a nation educated at the movies, we naturally suppose such hair-raising toothgrowing changes must be necessary to transform a charmer like Bush into the creature who, as he has put it, will do what is necessary to he re-elected."

Not so. In 1988 during his last excursion into campaign mode he turned himself into The Thing That Ate Massachusetts, yet not a single whisker was added to his sideburns,

winsact was added to installed the form of fang to his dental repertory.

Even though jeering at Massachusetts for providing the country with excellent colleges while campaigning to become "education president," he emitted not a single translated catche of actions at the maniacal cackle of ecstasy at the way campaign mode leaves con-science untroubled by duplicity. A nation of movie-educated vot-

ers might have instantly recognized the situation and said, "Yale man speak with forked tongue," but by then Americans were so busy feeling guilty about having once en-joyed cowboy-and-Indian movies that few dared remember the native wisdom so easily available to children on Saturday afternoons.

In becoming better and more tol-erant, we had become less skeptical, meaning more easily gulled by a full display of campaign mode. Speaking of The Thing That Ate Massachusetts, what of The Wash-ington Post's blood-curding report that the Republicans will run inst The Media? That's The Me-

dia, capital T, capital M. Isn't that The Thing That Ate America?

Don't run against it, you Republicans. Think: Suppose it wins. Imagine: an entire character-flawed country incessantly badgered by the self-righteous for being human.

New York Times Service

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Hard Times at the Hermitage

By Michael Dobbs

Washington Past Service

T. PETERSBURG — For more than a quarter of a century until his death in 1990, Boris B. Pyotrovsky fought with the Communist regime to preserve one of the jewels of world culture — the Herminge seum in Leningrad. Today his son, Mikhail B. Pyotrovsky, is waging a similar battle with Russia's democratic government. It seems that the elder Pyotrovsky had the

easier task. "The Communists understood that it was necessary to show the world they were capable of preserving the country's cultural heritage," said Mikhail Pyotrovsky, who was appointed director of the Hermitage last month. "If you were in charge of a place like the Hermitage, it was possible to squeeze the money you needed out of the government.

"The Communist system has been replaced by no system at all. We are trying to build a new society at all levels. The new regime wants to help culture, but it does not have the means to do it"

On his desk were stacks of proposals for raising money to maintain an art collection begun more than two centuries ago by Catherine the Great.

The Hermitage, founded in 1764 by Catherine as a court museum, adjoined the Winter Palace and served as a private gallery for the art amassed by the empress. Under Nicholas I, the Hermitage was reconstructed and opened to the public in 1852. Following the October Revolution of 1917, the imperial

collection became public property.

Like many other cultural monuments in Russia, the Hermitage has fallen on hard times. The roof leaks. The walls need repair-ing. Air conditioning must be installed to protect the priceless collection of Old Masters and Impressionists from damage. The security system is out of date. Members of the staff have been threatening to go on strike for

higher pay.

Coddled by the Communists, the Hermitage now receives only half its annual budget from the state. According to Pyotrovsky, the museum needs to raise \$200 million by the end of the century to keep its buildings and

artwork intact.
"We are determined to keep our collection intact." Pyotrovsky said, recalling bow the Bolsheviks in the early 1930s, desperate for foreign exchange, sold Andrew Mellon 21 paintings that now form the core of the National Gallery collection in Washington.

"A misseum cannot be a shop," he said. "It

is a historical monument, like a monastery or a palace, that must be preserved as it is." The Hermitage's inventory of about three million pieces of art — only a fraction of them on display — is reported to be in disar-

Earlier this month, the newspaper Sovyetskaya Rossiya quoted a senior staff member as

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Mikhail Pyotrovsky, the new director of the Hermitage.

saying that 600,000 etchings were stored in "the most absurd way. There is no system at all. Closets are jammed with folders. . . . If someone wanted to take something out of the Hermitage, they could do it quite freely."

According to the newspaper, 150 members of the Hermitage staff signed a petition describing working conditions as unbearable and calling for the museum's temporary closure. The newspaper also described a string of recent mishaps, including the smashing of a unique bronze floor lamp because of vibration from a passing trolley and the piercing of a Flemish masterpiece by a falling curtain

Pyotrovsky described the Sovyetskaya Rossiya report as a mixture of "outright lies" and "exaggerations." He acknowledged, however, that there had been rumblings of discontent among the 1,300 staff members because of low pay. The average monthly salary at the Hermitage is about \$12.50. Many scholars and professional workers live below the poverty line.

Although much remains to be done, the Hermitage has begun renovations. The Small Hermitage, the central part of Catherine the Great's art collection, recently has been re-paired. Ballet and opera performances again are being staged in the exar's private theater. The next stage of the renovation project is the adjoining Winter Palace, whose storming in October 1917 became the symbol of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The Hermitage also is trying to fend off demands by former Soviet republics for the return of their "national heritage."

An agreement signed by the heads of the Commonwealth of Independent States in February provides for "the return of cultural

and historic treasures to their countries of

origin."
The Russian parliament has refused to ratify the agreement, which could severely damage many of the country's finest art collections. Pyotrovsky said he will refuse to permit

treasure-hunting by other republics in the Hermitage as long as he is director.

"This idea of dividing everything up is very Bolshevik, very revolutionary," he said.

"Rob the robbers' has been the slogan of all revolutions. We cannot afford this slopen

PEOPLE

Newton in Bankruptcy

debts. Newton's assets have not yet been appraised, but they "pretty much include everything he has," said his lawyer, Gerald Gordon. The holdings include Newton's Arabian horse ranch and his mension on the outskirts of Las Vegas, Newton, 50, makes millions of dollars a year, but some of his investments have gotten him into trouble. In 1989, he had to get a court order to keep a savings and loan assocation from foreclosing on land he owned across the

street from his home.

The luxury yacht of the late ship-ping tycoon Aristotle Onassis couldn't find a buyer when it pur up for auction by the Greek state on Tuesday. Only two potential buyers showed up and both said the \$4.2 million starting price was too high. The 325-toot (100-meter) Christina, named after Onassis's late daughter, was given to the state in 1978, but the Finance Ministry said it could not afford to maintain it. The vessel has hosted some of the world's greatest political and show business celebrines including Marion Brando, Winston Churchill and Maria Callas. Jacqueline Kennedy Onessis used the yacht to cruise the Mediterranean when her husband was away on business. The auction will be repeated next month and officials said the opening price will be lower.

A U.S. appeals court has upheld a jury erdict that Sterle Wonder-did not steal his hit song "I Just Called To Say I Love You" from a Los. Angeles songwriter. Lloyd Chiate contended that Wonder learned the song in 1976 from the singer's half-brother, who had heard "Hello It's Me / I Just Called To Say," written by Chiate and Lee Garrett, a boyhood friend of Won-Gerrett, a boyhood friend of Wonder's. A jury in Los Angeles found
that the two songs were not substantially similar and that Wonder had
not copied Chiate's song. . . . The
rap group 2 Live Crew violated a
copyright held by a Nashville music
publishing house on the Roy Orbison song "Oh, Pretty Woman" by
recording a parody of the song, a
federal appeals court has ruled, in
reversing a lower court's decision.

reversing a lower court's decision. Acuff-Rose Music Inc. sued 2 Live

Wayne Newton, the singer-actor who began as a child star and rose to fame as a headliner in Las Vegas, has filed for bankruptcy protection over an estimated \$20 million in

Alson Wardie, the nanny who has

cared for the Duchess of York's two young daughters since they were born, is quitting, and the London tabloids say the duchess's Tercan friend, Johnnie Bryan, is the cause. Wardle who cares for Princess Bestrice, 4, and Princess Eugenie, 2, was said to have called Bryan "a tyrical larger than life Tercan who typical larger-than-life Texan who loves himself, enjoys giving orders and has no manners. But Bryan dismissed allegations that the namy is resigning because of him and said the was leaving to become a nursery she was leaving to become a nursery school teacher. Bryan, who has been a constant companion of the duchess since she separated from her husband, Prince Andrew, five months ago, also denied that he had moved in with her at her home near London... Paris Match magazine denied Tuesday that it was about to publish pictures of the duchess fine in the south of France. A Paris Match address and that he had been Match editor said that he had been offered photographs, but that they were taken from so far away it was not even clear that they were of the

About 700 frenzied Madonna fans jammed a suburban Detroit hotel to mark their idol's 34th birthday. The pop singer wasn't there but there were enough Madonna wanna-bes on hand to make up for it. Gilian Opolko, 18, of Kitchener, Ontario, won the Ma-donna look-elike contest, a high-light of the first International Madonna Appreciation Convention.

The NBC correspondent Arthur Kent, suspended after refusing an assignment to Croatia, stood outside NBC headquarters in New York and passed out leaflets denouncing the network. In the fliers, Kent complained of being slandered as a coward and a shirker." Kent, who reported from Sandt Arabia during the Gulf War, was suspended along with a producer, Joe Alicastro, after the two refused an assignment to Zagreb. The suspensions coincided with the news that an ABC News producer, David Kaplan, had been shot to death in Sarajevo.

TODAY'S

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Appears on Page 6

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71 Shoot off one's DOWN 2 Kind of pier

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28 Stendhal's "The Charterhouse of 30 Western Indian 32 Demand 33 Locale

as Deceived;

34 Rundown as Headwear for bird?

New York Times, edited by Eugene Maleska. 41 Weeks in the 54 Concierge 55 Othelio, a.g.

44 Bread spread 46 Edberg or Borg 44 Scrap 52 Perimeters

56 Otherwisa 57 Mah-Jongg piece 56 Plece of cake

so Bach finale

&1 Mavoumeen's homa 62 Editor's notation 65 inst. in tha Ocean State

فكذا من الأصل

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